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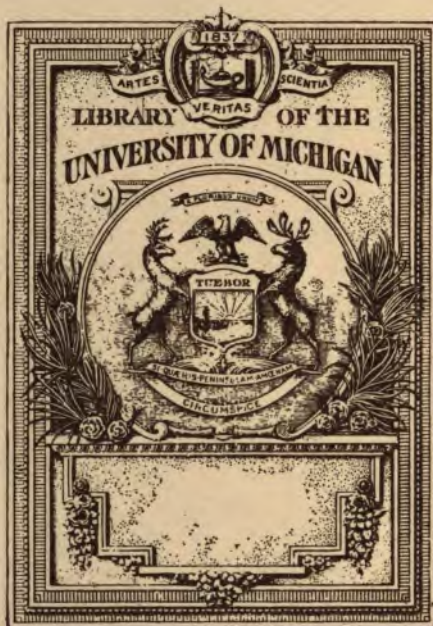
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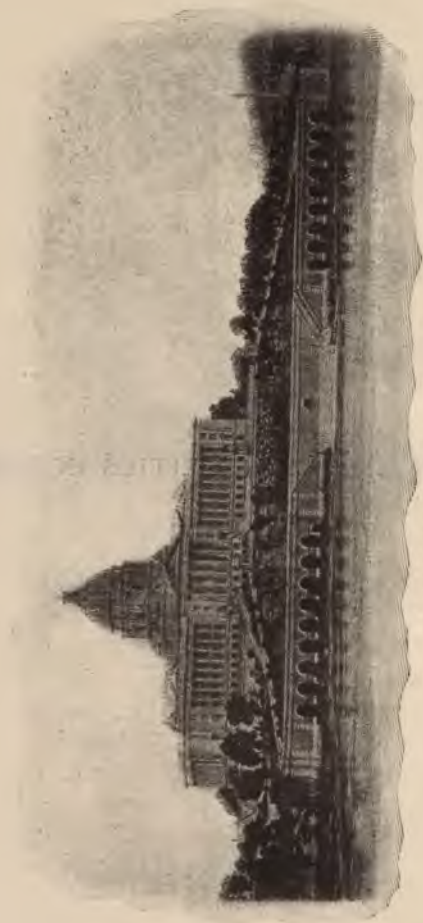
**MISSOURI
GOVERNMENT
AND POLITICS**

FAIR



OURI

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN MISSOURI



MISSOURI'S STATE CAPITOL

Government and Politics In Missouri

BY

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PREFACE

It is hoped these chapters on the Government and Politics in Missouri will give some idea of political conditions as they really are. Old labels are used for several of the chapters but there is an earnest attempt to stress the actual workings of government and in language such as boys and girls of the age of twelve to fourteen will understand. It is believed that a description of political parties will raise rather than lower the ideals of children of this age. If political power of whatever sort is wielded, we wish the children to know who wields it and why. It is only by bringing out the facts that evils may be corrected and good perpetuated.

To many students of the State Teachers College and the Kirksville High School the writer owes his thanks for valuable suggestions. To my friend and co-author, Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, is due hearty thanks for unsparing thought reading, and sympathetic constructive criticism.

EUGENE FAIR.

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PART I

STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND OF MISSOURI GOVERNMENT

It is somewhat difficult for most of us to get an idea of the size of the county in which we live. It is still more difficult to get an idea of the size of our state and we can hardly even imagine how large our whole United States is.

But it is not hard for any of us to think of a square plot of land which would require a four-mile walk to go around. It takes about 600 such plots of land to make up the average Missouri county and the whole of Missouri has within its borders nearly 70,000 such plots, while the whole of the continental United States has about 3,000,000. Though the county you live in may not be one-hundredth of all of Missouri and Missouri is not more than one-forty-third of the whole continental United States, yet our state is larger than any state east of the Mississippi River. It is larger than all the New England States put together. It is nearly two-thirds as large as England, Scotland and Ireland combined and is more than half the size of Prussia. It would take about four hours, riding 60 miles an hour, to go from its western to its eastern boundary, and about five and one-half hours, at the same rate of speed, to go from its northern to its southern boundary. Seventeen other states are larger than Missouri, but Rhode Island is just about twice as large as an average Missouri county.

Not only does the size of a state have something to do with the background of its government, but the same can be said of its location. There is no other large sized area in

the world so well suited to a progressive civilization as the Mississippi Valley. Missouri is one of the states in the heart of this valley. She now has as many miles of navigable rivers as any other state and, before the days of railroads, these rivers gave her some advantage over her neighboring sister states. In common with the states to the east of her, she took advantage of the Mississippi, while the Missouri River, though cutting her in twain, made Missouri, more than any other state, the open gateway to both the northwest and the southwest. Of course the most important means of travel and transportation now are the more than 8,000 miles of steam railroads and nearly 1,000 miles of electric lines.

Missouri, also, has natural advantages other than her size and location. Broadly speaking, the state may be divided into two topographic parts--the northern and the western, called the prairie region--and the southern, called the Ozark region.

The length of the state from north to south, together with the different altitudes of the prairie and Ozark regions, cause quite a variation in climate--the average temperature for the year being 54 degrees.

Most of the state north of the Missouri river is smooth and the soil is well suited to agriculture; corn is the leading crop. The Ozark region is rougher and not so well suited to agriculture, but here we find valuable lead and zinc mines. In fact, Missouri leads all other states in the production of these minerals. In various parts of the state are plentiful supplies of soft coal, and the forests, though diminishing in value, have aided greatly in the development of the state. Neither has it been of little advantage to Missouri to have much running water.

From her considerable size, her favorable location, her varied though temperate climate, different kinds of valuable soil and minerals, her somewhat valuable forests, generally sufficient rainfall and much running water, we should expect *a number of important ways of making a living.*

Farming is the most important occupation. About half of the working population make their living in this way. The value of the farm property was estimated in 1910 to be about \$2,000,000,000; the total annual value of the chief crops, \$250,000,000. The corn crop value was about half, wheat about one-fifth, and hay and forage about one-fifth of this amount.

The next most important industry is manufacturing. The census of 1910 reported 8,000 establishments in the state. These employed upward of 190,000 persons, 50,000 of whom were wage earners. The value of what these establishments produced was about \$575,000,000.

There are a number of other less important occupations, such as mining, lumbering, commerce, dairying, and professional activities, but it is unnecessary to speak of these here.

We have already gone far enough to show that Missouri's population of nearly 3,500,000 have many and varied interests. The population is fairly homogenous; that is you would not notice much difference in the people from one part of the state and those from another. It is a significant fact, however, that, by the census of 1910, 42.5 per cent of the population lived in towns of over 2,500, and that the cities are growing more rapidly than the rural sections--71 counties actually decreased in population from 1900 to 1910. The census of 1920 showed that just about half lived in these towns, and that most of the rural counties had decreased in population.

So our background is one of many colors. It shows that we Missourians live in a complex civilization, and the more complex the civilization the more complex the government will be.

QUESTIONS

1. What physical features in Missouri tend to keep people apart or bring them together?
2. Has Missouri any real natural boundaries?
3. Do you think the way a person makes his living has anything to do with his political beliefs and actions?
4. How do most people make their living in the county where you live?
5. Is life complex in your community?

CHAPTER II

THE CONSTITUTION OF MISSOURI—HOW IT WAS MADE AND HOW IT MAY BE CHANGED

We have seen that the word "Missouri" meant a certain amount and kind of territory, and a certain number of people within this territory who worked in many ways to make their living. These different ways of making their living, together with many other things they do, cause them to have constant dealings with each other. In these dealings, it is like most of us to want to have our own way. Again there are many things we cannot do alone. To put it in another way, we have many needs. Some of these needs are more important than others. Just as it is a greater need for all to have pure drinking water than to go to a picture show each week, so the rules governing our most important needs are of more value to us than other rules we have. Some of these important rules we can make for ourselves and carry out, others we can not. It is in the "others" that we find need for a constitution. So we have a constitution of the United States which is supposed to say rather definitely what shall be the machinery of the national government, what its powers are, the limitations on these powers, also the powers which are withheld from the states. In all other respects, the voters of each state may make such rules to govern themselves as they see fit. Missouri, like every other state, has made a constitution in which are placed her most important rules of government.

Our state has had three different constitutions. The first one was made in 1820; the second in 1865; and the third in 1875. Each of these constitutions was worked out by a constitutional convention elected by the people for that purpose, and, with the exception of the first one, each was consented to, or ratified by the vote of the people. The

first one was put into effect by the constitutional convention making it, without the people voting on it.

The present constitution has been changed or amended about three dozen times, but before these changes were made it would fill a fair-sized book of over fifty pages. Its fifteen articles deal with the following matters: Bill of Rights; Distribution of Powers; Legislative Department; Judicial Department; Impeachments; Suffrage and Elections; Counties; Cities and Towns; Revenue and Taxation; Education; Corporations; Militia; Miscellaneous Provisions; Mode of Amending the Constitution. Quite an array of titles this, but here Missouri's 1,500,000 voters must go to find out for themselves what is the supreme law of their state.

This constitution was made at a time when life was very simple in comparison with what it is today. Big changes have taken place in the way we live and think. It would seem that big changes, too, should have been made in the constitution of Missouri, but not many such big changes have been made.

Within the last few years there has been a strong demand on the part of well known citizens and organizations for a new constitution. The most important organization is known as the New Constitutional Convention Association. The legislature in 1919 proposed an amendment (to take the place of Article XV of the constitution) on this subject which the voters accepted in the election of 1920. One part of this amendment said that the voters should vote in August 1921 on whether or not they wished to have a constitutional convention. They did so and decided they wanted such a convention.

It is more important than usual to know just how the constitution is amended and revised. The constitution says in this new article, "The general assembly may, at any time, propose amendments to this constitution as a majority of the members elected to each house shall deem expedient." Once

an amendment is proposed it is published with the laws of that session of the legislature and in some newspaper in every county of the state where one is published.

There is a second way to propose amendments to the constitution, (Art. IV, Sect. 57). "The first power reserved by the people is the initiative, and not more than eight per cent of the legal voters in each of at least two-thirds of the congressional districts in the state shall be required to propose any such measure by such petition and every such petition shall include the full text of the measure so proposed. Initiative petitions shall be filed with the secretary of state not less than four months before the election at which they are to be voted upon—The whole number of votes cast for Justice of the Supreme Court at the regular election last preceding the filing of any petition for the initiative—shall be the basis on which the number of legal voters necessary to sign shall be counted."

This quotation of this part of the constitution may sound dry and uninteresting but any part of it may become very interesting when a large group of people are trying hard to get an amendment before the people of the state. A good illustration of this was seen during the fall of 1916 (see Kansas City Star, Sept. 20 and 30, 1916). The secretary of state, Mr. Roach, refused to accept the petition on the proposed prohibition amendment. He said that this proposed amendment violated the Federal Constitution (Amendment X); that a part of it should have been passed by the legislature rather than through an amendment to the constitution; that it covered too many subjects. Since the secretary believed these things to be true, he thought the state should not go to the expense of printing the proposed amendment. He asked those who were against his views to have the matter tried out before the supreme court of the state. This was done and the court decided against Mr. Roach, and so the proposed amendment was printed and placed before the voters in November.

Amending the constitution in the ways we have mentioned is somewhat like trying to mend an old suit of clothes after it is nearly worn out. The voters of Missouri showed by their vote in August 1921 that they would like to look at a new suit of clothes, at least, for as we have said they voted to have a constitutional convention.

Article XV of the constitution makes it the duty of the governor, once the people have voted to have a convention, to send statements (called writs of election) to all the sheriffs of the state "ordering the election of delegates to the convention". The governor must do this not less than three nor more than six months after the people have voted to have a convention. Therefore the governor sent out these writs asking the people to elect their delegates the last day of January 1922. Two delegates were elected from each of the thirty-four senatorial districts in the state, and it is so arranged that no one political party can elect more than one of these delegates. The senatorial committees of each party (such committees are made up of the chairmen of the county committees of each county in the senatorial district) have the right to say how these district delegates shall be nominated. Only voters living within the senatorial district can vote for these delegates, and each voter can vote for only one candidate. But Article XV also provides for fifteen other delegates known as delegates at large. These delegates are nominated by petitions. These petitions have to be signed by voters "equal in number to at least five per cent of the entire vote cast for governor at the last general election in the senatorial district in which such candidate resides." Every voter in the state had the right to vote for fifteen of the persons nominated as delegates at large.

The names of all those who were running as candidates for delegates at large had to be on one separate ballot and there could not be anything on the ballot to show the party to which the candidates belong.

We thus see there was every intention to keep party politics out of the convention. It was suggested by several leaders that each of the big political parties see that seven persons were nominated as delegates at large and that they agree on the nomination of a fifteenth person. This suggestion was acted upon. The state committees of both the Republican and Democratic parties met at Jefferson City a short time before the election on January 31, 1922. Each committee picked out seven persons, they agreed upon a fifteenth person, and then circulated petitions to nominate all fifteen. This was known as the "fusion ticket". Thirteen other persons were nominated for delegates at large. These were spoken of as the "independent ticket," since no political party helped nominate them. Each voter could therefore vote for fifteen persons out of the twenty-eight nominated as delegates at large. The "fusion ticket" was elected. The following clipping from the St. Louis Globe-Democrat (Feb. 14, 1922) shows how the vote stood:

"The fusion ticket for delegates at large to the State Constitutional Convention was easily elected. The official count was concluded by the Secretary of State tonight. The vote was miserably small, hardly 107,000 for the entire state. Barely one-third of the voters who went to the polls and voted at the special election last August on calling the convention voted to name delegates to it.

"More than 1,330,000 votes were cast at the November, 1920, election. Of these voters more than 1,200,000 did not care enough who was elected delegate to the constitutional convention to go to the late election and cast their ballots.

"Joshua W. Alexander of Gallatin, former Secretary of Commerce in President Wilson's Cabinet, heads the fusion ticket, with 77,117 votes. W. K. James of St. Joseph received the highest vote on the independent ticket, drawing 50,838.

"The total vote received by each of the fusion candidates is as follows: Norman A. Mozely (Rep.), Poplar Bluff, 65,985; Joshua W. Alexander (Dem.), Gallatin, 77,117; George H. Williams (Rep.), St. Louis, 68,861; Daniel G. Taylor (Dem.), St. Louis, 72,620; William Sacks (Rep.), St. Louis, 63,164; Wm. T. John-

son (Dem.), Kansas City, 74,155; Solon T. Gilmore (Rep.), Kansas City, 60,086; A. T. Dumm (Dem.), Jefferson City, 69,811; Cassius M. Shartel (Rep.), Neosho, 64,147; Stephen B. Hunter (Dem.), Cape Girardeau, 74,720; Charles D. Morris (Rep.), St. Joseph, 72,104; Don O. Vernon (Dem.), Lebanon, 68,786; A. A. Speer (Rep.), Jefferson City, 70,810; Mrs. W. W. Martin (Dem.), Fayette, 72,679; Mrs. Walter McNab Miller (Rep.), Columbia, 63,309."

Within six months after the election of the delegates to the convention or not later than the last day of July 1922, the governor must call the delegates into the convention at Jefferson City. When they came together, as is usual in such important meetings, each member had to promise (take an oath or affirmation) that he would support the constitution of the United States and the state of Missouri and do the work faithfully as a member of the convention. Each member received ten dollars a day for his services, and the same pay for going and coming from Jefferson City as the members of the legislature.

We have seen that there were 68 district delegates and 15 delegates at large, making a total of 83. It takes a majority of these, or 42, to carry on the work of the convention, i. e., 42 is a quorum, and any constitution or amendments which the convention asks the voters to pass on must be approved by at least 42 members of the convention. The convention's sessions must be open so that people can see it at work. The convention has full power to select its own officers, pay them what it chooses, make its own rules, publish its own records, say whether a person has been really nor must appoint some one to take the seat.

elected a member of the convention, and appropriate money for all its expenses. In case of some one not being able to serve and there is a vacant seat in the convention, the gover-

You may wonder why it takes so long and why there are so many things to do in order to get a new constitution, but it is such a serious thing for our state to work over and

change its most important rules that we should not only be very careful but take plenty of time for thinking it all over. Up until August, 1921 the people of Missouri had to depend on the legislature to give them the chance to vote on whether or not they would have a constitutional convention, but at that time they so changed the constitution (Article XV, Section 4) that beginning in November 1942, and every 20 years after that, the voters will vote on this question, "Shall there be a convention to revise and amend the constitution?" So every twenty years the voters of Missouri will decide whether they will have a new suit of clothes made. If it pleases them they can wear it; if not they will continue to wear the old suit.

Those who want a new constitution for Missouri say our old constitution is too long; that it has many rules about the legislature and the courts which do not belong in a constitution; that it does not have enough rules in it concerning schools, women and children; that it should give the people more freedom to tax themselves, especially for schools; that its wording should be much simpler; that the relations between labor and capital should be much more carefully looked after. While all these questions and many others are under discussion in the convention, which will likely begin its work sometime during the summer of 1922, and when the new constitution is before the people after the convention has done its work, should be interesting times for all of us. We can find from newspapers a great deal of what people are saying and thinking, in other words we will be able to know something of the way the suit is made and decide for ourselves whether we Missourians should have it to wear. The voters will decide this question not less than sixty days nor more than six months after the convention quits its work, or adjourns. The convention must order a special election for that purpose. It is well to have a special election, so that the voters will have only this one thing to think about.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Name some rule which you are sure should not be in our state constitution.
2. Give several rules you are sure should be in our state constitution.
3. How many ways have we of amending the constitution of Missouri? Describe each one of these ways.
4. Find out as much as you can about the people who were elected to the state constitutional convention.
5. Do you think the people of Missouri were very much interested when they elected delegates to the Constitutional Convention?
6. How do you account for their lack of interest?



STONE CARVING ON GRAND STAIRWAY, MISSOURI'S STATE CAPITOL.

CHAPTER III

STATE EXECUTIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENTS

We have just seen that the constitution of Missouri is the supreme law of the state and that it says there shall be three departments of our state government—executive, legislative, judicial. Most people pay more attention to the executive than any other department. They like to know especially about the governor, the head of the executive department.

There are nearly always a number of men who wish to be governor. So, several months before, about the first of August every four years, as in 1916 and 1920, these men tell the people through the newspapers and in speeches what they will do if nominated and elected. Each one belongs to a political party and would like to have that party choose him to run for governor. In order to give the voters of each party a chance to say whether he shall run for them, he makes a statement to the secretary of state of Missouri that he wants to run. At the same time he hands or sends to the secretary of state a little statement called a receipt which says that he has paid to the treasurer of the state committee of his party one hundred dollars. He must do these things not less than sixty days before the voters of his party vote for or against him in August. So the voters of each party decide in August, at what is called a direct primary, who shall run for governor for them and for most of the other important offices, as secretary of state, treasurer.

There are often some lively fights among the voters of a party, and men who are running, to see who will run for them. The persons running are called the candidates and we call the choice which the voters of each party makes a nomination. After the nominations comes the fight among the nominees to get to be elected governor. This fight lasts from

August until the first Tuesday in the following November. We call these fights the campaigns for election.

These elections come during the same year that we elect a President of the United States, and it is not always easy to tell which interests the people the more—the state or the national campaign. Every now and then two speakers for the same party will go around speaking together, one talking mostly about things going on in the state and the other about matters which interest people all over the United States. If the place they visit has about the same number of voters in each of the leading parties, two other speakers of a different party are likely to appear in a short time. Sometimes the two sets of speakers will come to the same town at the same time. Each party tries to see which can get the larger crowd. It seems as if there were about as many voters in one of the leading parties in Missouri as in the other, so a person who wishes to get nominated for governor not only has to work very hard then, but still harder when he comes up for the election in November. Since there are about the same number of voters in each party, we say “Missouri is close politically”, or that the parties are “evenly balanced”. Being “close politically” brings about, usually, the nomination and election of men of importance.

Three out of five of Missouri's last governors were well known as lawyers and had looked after important law cases for the state before being elected. One was well known as a good business man, and another as one of the best speakers in the state. So soon as most of the governors are elected, it becomes a common saying, “What will he be after next?” It turned out that Folk, Hadley and Major each wanted another office when his four years as governor had passed. Many people liked Governor Gardner for saying that he did not wish any other office when he stepped out as governor. Our governor can serve only four years at a time, that is, a governor can not succeed himself. He has a house called the

Mansion furnished him by the state, and gets a salary of \$5,000 a year. He also gets several hundred dollars a year for working on boards like the Board of Equalization. He is also given several thousand dollars each year for traveling expenses, postage, pay of secretary, and other things. But the governor needs all he gets and more, for he has to spend money for many things. One thing which costs him hundreds of dollars during a year's time is showing people a good time by inviting them to dinner, furnishing them a party at the Mansion or on the lawn.

Like other states, Missouri has a lieutenant governor; and like the governor he must be at least thirty-five years of age, a citizen of the United States for at least ten years and a resident of Missouri seven years next before his election. He acts as governor whenever the governor leaves the state, dies, is removed, or quits his place as governor. He is also president of the senate, but usually does not have much to do with the way the senate is managed. Now if you would see the names of other state officers in the Blue Book, you might say to yourself "the governor has an official family to aid him, as has the President of the United States." But the treasurer who takes care of the money of the state, the auditor who orders the treasurer to pay out money, the attorney general who is the state's lawyer, the secretary of state who gets and keeps facts about elections, has the laws published and keeps a record of many things the governor does—all of these are nominated and elected by the voters in nearly the same way as is the governor and for the same term. The governor cannot tell any one of them what to do as the President can tell one of his official family, and so we say "they are not responsible to him." Sometimes all or a part of them do not belong to the same political party as the governor, and so they may not work along smoothly with him.

Even though the governor has not the power throughout the state that the President has throughout the United States, more attention is paid to him than anybody else helping manage the state's government, and he may be well called the head of the government of the state. Of all his powers his business of helping make laws is likely the most important. Like the President, he may believe that the legislature has not passed a good bill, so he may put his name on it saying that he does not agree with them. This is called vetoing a bill. He may also send them written statements asking them to pass bills on one or more things. These we call messages. He may also ask them to meet at special times in what is known as an extra, or special session. If he is a strong vigorous man, he also is the real head of his party in the state. In the campaign he is almost sure to tell the people that he wants certain laws passed by the legislature. On becoming governor, he is expected to "put these measures across." In other words the people who elected him expect that he will tell the legislature plainly what he wants done and then "take off his coat," if need be, and see that such laws are made as he suggests. Now the governor, as the leader in making laws, has a number of things which he may make use of. He not only may be the leader of the majority party in the legislature, but he always has a good deal of power in appointing other people to offices. Most of these appointments have to be agreed to by the senate—that is, they must "ratify" or "confirm" his appointments. Often senators will wish him, as United States senators do the President, to appoint persons they suggest, and so they are more likely to vote for the bills he wants passed if he makes his appointments after they have voted as he wished. Then again, the governor, if he is a man of courage and ability, is more of a leader in getting what the people want—or we say a leader of public opinion—than perhaps all the members of the legislature put together. Most of the people of the state really

want one man to take the lead, so that they can see who gets on well and who does not—that is, they want to center on some one whom they can hold responsible. So they have centered their attention on the governor.

Not only do most of the voters expect the governor to have a program of laws to put through the legislature and to fight for this program, but they also expect the governor to check the legislature through his veto. This is well seen when the legislature, through a bill, appropriates money.

The governor, unlike the President of the United States, has power to veto parts of these bills. This power of the governor causes the legislature to pay attention to what the governor says about money matters. He is sometimes asked to tell them what he thinks, as the following clipping, taken from the Kansas City Times (March 7, 1917) shows:

"Jefferson City, March 6—Governor Gardner tonight replied to the senate resolution asking for any estimates he may have that would throw light on the revenue and receipts of the state in the event of all the new revenue measures he has recommended becoming laws.

"His estimates show that if the new revenue bills he recommended are passed they will produce \$4,650,000 additional revenue, making a total for the biennial period of 1917 and 1918 of 15¾ million dollars. Taking the estimates of the house committee on appropriation as to what will be required to pay off the old debts and provide for the future, the governor shows the revenue will still be short on the biennial period 1¾ million dollars. In brief, the governor's estimates follow:

Present revenue laws	\$11,100,000
Increase by tax commission	300,000
Secured debt tax	150,000
Mortgage Recording tax	300,000
Inheritance tax	1,500,000
Corporation franchise tax	1,000,000
Increased saloon license	500,000
Whiskey license tax	200,000
Tax on soft drinks	300,000
Income tax	400,000
Total	\$15,750,000

"Of this total the governor estimates that $5\frac{1}{4}$ million dollars will go to support of the public schools, leaving for general revenue purposes for the year 1917 and 1918 the sum of $10\frac{1}{2}$ million dollars. He gives the estimates of the house committee on appropriations at the following figures:

Deficiency	\$2,300,000
Educational institutions	2,500,000
Elccemosynary institutions	1,645,000
Assessment and collection revenue	500,000
Pay of civil list	1,275,000
Expenses general assembly	280,000
General emergency bill	3,000,000
Penitentiary	750,000
Total	<u>\$12,250,000</u>

"From these figures," says the governor, "it will be noticed that if each and every one of the revenue bills recommended by me are passed and added to the present revenue, and if the appropriations are made covering the deficiency and also the estimated requirements by the house appropriation committee, that we will still be short $1\frac{1}{4}$ million dollars. It is therefore necessary in order that the receipts and expenditures may be even, that the estimates prepared by the house committee be reduced by $1\frac{1}{4}$ million dollars."

You can see at once that while the legislature is meeting the governor is a very busy man—busy in helping get laws passed, busy as an executive. We have just said that he can appoint a number of officers and that the senate must consent to most of these if it is meeting. But the governor can remove very few of the officials he appoints. And yet if these officials do not do their work well, most people blame the governor. He needs, therefore, to be very careful about the kind of men and women he appoints. He has, however, the power to remove the members of the police and election boards of the large cities of the state. This is important when we think of the great powers these boards have over nearly one-third of the population of the state.

As the chief executive official, the governor often represents the state when it wishes to have something to do with the national government or another state. So, frequently, the governor and his military staff attend the President's inauguration in Washington, and you, no doubt, have heard of the governor ordering a criminal coming from Kansas, Iowa, or Arkansas, or Illinois sent back to that state.

We seldom think of the governor as having anything to do with soldiers, but should there be such trouble anywhere in the state that the constables, sheriffs and policemen could not make people obey the laws, then the governor may order out the militia—that is, the state's soldiers—to help. Missouri has so many clashing interests that the governor might have to do this most any time.

It might seem important to linger over the words, "the governor shall take care that the laws are faithfully executed." But we need not do this when we think of the great number of officers who execute Missouri's laws independently of the governor, and that the governor can remove few of these officials.

The governor does have some rather important powers as a member of several state boards such as the Board of Equalization, Board of Charities and Corrections, and Board of Agriculture. Since the governor appoints the members of some of these boards he is able to take the lead in what the board does.

It is very likely that the most important business of the governor is in helping to make the laws, and that his next most important duty is in carrying the laws out, or executing them, but he also may have some duties closely connected with the courts. "When a man is found guilty of a crime, the courts must order the punishment fixed by law. There may be special reasons, however, why this punishment should not be carried out as fixed. The criminal may be ill, or his behavior in prison may have been very good. The state does

not wish to punish but to reform. Hence the governor has been intrusted with the power to grant a reprieve, that is a postponement of the punishment, or a commutation, a reduction of the amount of the punishment, or a pardon which does away entirely with the punishment and sets the prisoner free. The governor may grant a pardon to a person, on condition that he will behave himself, and not commit any other crime. This is called a pardon, which means that the person has given his word or promise of good behavior. Many prisoners who have been released on parole have reformed and become good and useful citizens." (Loeb, *Government in Missouri*, p. 93).

Many petitions for parole and pardon are presented to the governor—so many indeed that he cannot look into them all himself. For a long time he had a pardon attorney to help him out. In 1913 (*Laws of Missouri 1913*, p. 227) the legislature created a Board of Pardons and Paroles who are appointed by and may be removed, when he sees fit, by the governor. They do this important work for the governor.

If you were to look in the Blue Book (the official Manual of the secretary of state of Missouri), the Revised Statutes of 1919 and the laws passed since that time, you would find many things about the machinery of the boards and commissions which we have not even mentioned in this chapter. Further on we shall try to explain some of the important work they do. This work, we think, is more important than the machinery which does the work.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Why do most people pay more attention to the executive than any other department?
2. Ask your parents if they ever voted in a primary, and if they have, get them to tell you about it.
3. How soon may you expect to see persons trying to get nominated and elected governor of Missouri?
4. Ask several people you know if they have ever heard a governor of Missouri speak, and get them to tell you how they liked the speaking.
5. Debate in the class the question: "Resolved that the governor should appoint all of the leading state officials."
6. Do you think the governor should take the lead in making laws? Give reasons for your answer.



CAPITALS OF COLUMNS, MAIN ROTUNDA, MISSOURI'S STATE CAPITOL

CHAPTER IV

THE STATE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

We have tried to see a picture of the kind of a country Missouri is, something of the most important rules of government for us, as provided in the constitution of our state. In addition we have noticed how the executive department puts these and other rules into effect. Most of these other rules, or laws, are made by the legislative department.

Like the governor and the other chief executive officers, the members of the legislature are nominated by the voters at the August primaries. Of course, if no person asks the voters of his party to nominate him at these primaries, party committees make the nominations; the county committee, if it be for representative; the senatorial committee, if it be for senator. If a party is in the majority in a county or senatorial district, some one generally asks his party to nominate him, but if it is otherwise the party committee often does the nominating. Quite often where a party has a big majority, the opposing party makes no nomination at all. True enough there are a number of counties and districts in which each party has about the same number of votes. In such cases there is often a lively campaign both in the primary and for the general election, which follows in November. A candidate will sometimes spend more in the primary campaign alone than his entire salary as a legislator amounts to. The kind of persons who really should be in the legislature nearly always lose financially even though they are elected, while it may be that some, who should not, gain financially. Nevertheless, even though the position of being a legislator is thankless, men are nominated, elected, and serve.

Some serve because they wish new experiences and the chance to meet people from different parts of the state; some

like a vacation from their regular work; some unselfishly think they can be of real help in making good laws; others are very selfish and think first of their own interests or of the political bosses who send them. They represent many different kinds of interests and are just about the kind of men you would find were you going along a well traveled street or road, speaking to them as you came to them. This is true especially of the members of the house of representatives. A large majority of the senators are lawyers.

A very human, chatty crowd, you would say, were you to see the 142 members of the house and the 34 members of the senate talking to each other some day just before the speaker of the house or the president of the senate called each body to order for the business of the day. Like other state legislatures and the congress of the United States, the Missouri legislature, called the General Assembly, is made up of two houses. Each has its separate room in which it meets in the beautiful capitol building at Jefferson City. It meets every two years in what is called a regular session, but may meet in extra or special session on the call of the governor. At the regular session, the legislature may make laws on any subject which the state has a right to make laws about, but At the regular session, the legislature may make laws on any jects named by the governor. We seldom have special sessions in Missouri, although the last two governors, Gardner and Hyde, have each called such, Gardner one and Hyde two.

You may wonder how so many men with so many different ideas and desires ever agree among themselves so that they may pass any law. This is not so hard to see once you notice them at work. One of the most important things bringing them together is the political party to which each member belongs. At or before the beginning of each regular session, each political party of each house has one or more meetings usually called caucuses (Caucuses are sometimes

held at other times). In these meetings they begin to get acquainted and also decide among themselves what persons they will nominate for the offices of each house when they later meet in each house to elect these officers. They also discuss and decide many other matters on which they think it would be well to hold together as a party. The leading members of the party which has the more votes in each house also generally feel that if good laws are not passed it is their fault, so this is another thing which holds them together. In these meetings, called caucuses, a vote is often taken on how they shall stand, the majority ruling. Should a member not be in the majority in this vote and go into the house or senate the next day and vote against the majority in the caucus, this member would not be considered loyal to his party. This is not very often done, however, by any of the members.

We have seen that the people in Missouri make their living in so many different ways and live in such different kinds of country that it is sometimes hard for them to get along with each other. These differences show themselves in the legislature, especially in the relations between the members from the two large cities on the one hand and members from the rural counties on the other hand. These differences help to keep a large number of the rural members lined up together against most anything these city members want. And the reverse is true. Both sides know very well that if the country members cling together, the city members stand no chance in getting what they want; and generally the country members, whether from the Ozarks or north of the Missouri river, have little trouble in understanding each other.

We see then that belonging to a political party, and especially the party in the majority, and the fact that a member is from the country or one of the two large cities does a great deal in causing members of the legislature to stick to-

gether sufficiently to pass laws. Again they are influenced a great deal to vote the same way by what we call public opinion. This is often called "hearing from back home." If the majority of the people "from back home" all over the state are of about the same opinion, there is little doubt but what a large majority of the members of the legislature will do as the people wish. Many of them will do as they think the people wish even though they believe honestly that the folks back home are wrong. Public opinion has much more to do with influencing legislators if it is led and directed by a vigorous, honest governor. This is especially true if the majority in both houses belong to the same political party as the governor, for as we have seen, the governor is the head of his political party in the state.

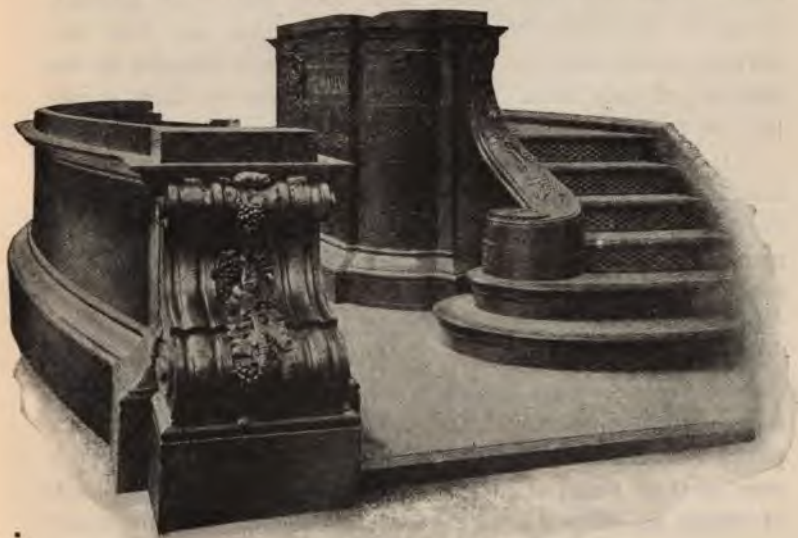
Along with all of these aids we have mentioned which cause the members of the legislature to get together so that they may pass laws, there also are hindrances. Sometimes the senate and the house get to feeling that one is trying to run the business of the other, and so they will disagree. Sometimes one or both of the houses get to feeling the same way about the governor. Again there are times when the majority in one house will be Democratic and that in the other Republican; and so, on questions where the parties are divided, they will naturally be divided.

Now it may be very easy for us to see what are some of the aids and hindrances in making laws, but it is not a very easy matter to see just how the laws are made. In the making of the laws each house is governed by many rules, mostly of its own making, but some of which are in the constitution of the state. There are a few rules that each house goes by when it has anything to do with the other house; these are called joint rules. These rules so arrange the order of business of each house that from prayer by the chaplain each day to the possible final passage of a bill you would be able to follow pretty well what was being done.

In the order of business is a place to start to make a law. Any member of either house may write out, or have written out for him, a bill. This bill is written out in the same form that he wishes the law to be in. This bill comes before the house or senate when a member arises and says, "Mr. Speaker, or Mr. President, a bill." A page comes and gets the bill and runs with it to the reading clerk's desk at the front of the house. The reading clerk (Let us follow the house procedure, the senate is very similar) notices the number of bills introduced, and then gives the bill a number. If there have been 100 bills introduced already, the clerk will say, "House Bill number 101 by Mr. ———," and he will then read the title to the bill. This is called the first reading. The bill then goes to other clerks, who have it printed in enough numbers so that each member may have several copies. (Members often wish to send copies of bills to the voters back home).

Once the bill is printed, so that each member may have a copy, its title is read a second time by the clerk, and at this reading the speaker refers the bill to a committee. If the bill is about roads, for example, it will be referred to the committee on Roads and Highways. One of the bill clerks takes charge of the bill until the chairman of the committee asks for it. The committee to which the bill was referred considers the bill and decides what shall be done with it. And it may do several things, but let us suppose it decides to report to the house "that it do pass" (If it reports that it "do not pass," that ends the matter unless some one brings up the bill on the floor of the house). The chairman of the committee so reports it to the house. Then, in due time, the house takes the bill up. This is known as the engrossment stage of the bill, and the person who introduced the bill generally explains it and it may be discussed and changed in any way the house sees fit. If the house is favorable to the bill, a majority of those present vote for it and it is declared

engrossed. The bill must be again printed as engrossed, and then it comes before the house in due time for "third reading and final passage." The bill may again be discussed to any extent the house sees fit, but nothing in it but its title can be changed at this stage. On third reading it takes a "constitutional majority" of the house, or 72 votes voting for it, to pass the bill. When properly signed by officers of the house,



ROSTRUM OF THE HOUSE, MISSOURI'S STATE CAPITOL

it goes to the senate, where its title is read a first and second time, referred to a committee and comes up "for third reading and final passage." It may be changed in any way the senate sees fit on its third reading. If it is changed, it must be sent back to the house in order to get it passed in exactly the same form by each house. Whether it is changed or not, the senate reports to the house what it has done with the bill. If the senate passes the bill without any change, as

it did the county unit school bill, it then goes to the governor, who may sign or veto the bill as he sees fit. In any case he reports the bill back to the house. If he signs it, it finally is published by the secretary of state in a volume, the title of which volume runs—"Laws of Missouri 1919 or 1921," according to the year the laws were made. Should you visit any justice of peace's, lawyer's, or county officer's office, he could show you what these laws look like when printed. Some of them, like the New Highway Law, are very important, while many of them just make slight changes in the laws we already have. But almost every one of them is important to some one in the state.

It is very easy to find fault with the work of our general assembly. It generally meets for something over 70 days every two years (every tenth year, year 1919 was e. g., it meets for something over 120 days). The pay which the members get, five dollars a day and a slight amount for postage and traveling expenses, does not much more than pay their expenses while in Jefferson City. A number of the members, though knowing that they are neglecting their own interest, work night and day to see that good laws are passed; others care little what takes place and are not often seen in their seats or in the committee rooms; others, some of whom are always present, seem unable to think much for themselves and so drift along hardly knowing what is going on. But the members of your legislature are very much like the people you meet from day to day. Some are watchful, earnest, hardworking, honest and very bright, while others are just about the opposite; but whether we have good or poor members rests with the voters. It is a fact that usually very little interest is shown in either the nomination or election of the various members. It is really the duty of good men and women everywhere to forget about how little is paid a member of the legislature, how little honor is attached to the place, and make a personal sacrifice and become, if possible, members of the legislature.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Ask the representative of your county to tell you how he was nominated.
2. What are the counties in your senatorial district and who is your senator?
3. Find out if any one you know has ever seen the capitol building at Jefferson City, and get this person to describe the rooms where the senate and the house meet.
4. Tell what is meant by a caucus and why there should be such a meeting.
5. What is meant by the "engrossment stage" of a bill?
6. Describe the kind of persons you would like to see members of the legislature.

CHAPTER V

THE STATE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

Many times, while a man is governor of our state, do we hear of his making appointments, granting pardons, making speeches, telling newspaper reporters what he thinks. We all have a chance, therefore, to know something of what the governor is thinking and doing. While the general assembly is meeting, we can find out something, too, about what its members are thinking and doing. As we have found out, the work of both the governor and general assembly centers at Jefferson City. Only a part of the work of the judicial department centers there. And we do not hear about that part nearly so much as we do about what the general assembly or the governor are doing. One reason for this is that the governor and members of the general assembly are looking out for the party to which they belong, and so are thinking a great deal about how the voters will treat their parties at the next election. They try to explain, at least some of the things they are doing, in order to get all the votes possible at the next election. Many people expect them to speak for their parties. Again, both the judges in our courts and the people like to feel, and no doubt do feel a great deal of the time, that the judges should not mix up in political party affairs. This feeling causes both the judges and all of us to say as little as possible about the work of the courts. It is only now and then that judges seem to decide cases a certain way because they have something to do with the political party to which a judge belongs.

But just because the courts are spoken of so little in the newspapers is no reason why we should think their work is not just as important as that of the executive and legislative departments. We need to know just as much about this

work. For, though the legislature makes laws for us to follow, we sometimes disagree among ourselves just what some law means. We have noticed such a disagreement when Mr. Roach refused to put the prohibition amendment on the ballot. The supreme court decided this dispute. One big thing, then, the courts do is to tell us what laws mean, but they do this only when we get into disputes and ask them to decide the matter. Again the laws intend that we shall have certain rights. You have a right to tell your parents that you saw some one steal a knife at a hardware store. Suppose the person who did the stealing says that you have no right to tell on him. A court would decide this matter if either one of you brought your dispute before it. So courts may decide what our rights are. Then again, the law not only gives us certain rights, but also gives us certain duties. For example, if a person owns some land, it is his duty to pay taxes on it. But suppose some person will not pay this tax and holds this is not his duty. The county collector, say, may take the matter before a court and it will decide what the duty of the person is. So the main business of courts is to decide what laws mean and what are the rights and duties of people. If one is not satisfied with the way in which a dispute is decided, it is nearly always possible to get another court to pass on it. We call this an appeal, or taking the question to a higher court.

Outside of our larger cities, the court in Missouri which is nearer to us than any other is that of the justice of the peace. Each "municipal" township has two justices of the peace with the exception of some larger townships who have more. The voters of the township choose them for two years at a time. It is not often that one of them is a lawyer. The disputes they decide are therefore not usually very interesting or important. For example, a man might claim you owed him two dollars for seed corn and you would deny it. He could sue or bring a law suit against you for it before a

justice of the peace. Or suppose the person we spoke of above declares he did not steal the knife, but the hardware merchant claims he did. Here is a dispute—the merchant could sue the thief before a justice of the peace in order to get pay for his knife. If either one of the persons having the dispute asks for it, a group of six persons called a jury may decide the case, i. e., they could decide whether or not the man stole the knife. Each person in the dispute may also take an appeal to the next most important court, the circuit court.

Each justice of the peace has a helper called a constable, elected by the people of the township, who gets the witnesses and jurors for him, takes prisoners to jail, and does numbers of other things. Most townships just have one constable. With the use of the automobile it is so much easier than it used to be to go greater distances. So some think it might be well to have one man, who is a lawyer, at each county seat to do all the work done now by all the justices of the peace of the county.

You may have heard your father say, "I'll have to attend court today." If so, it is likely that he was talking about the circuit court. There are nearly three dozen of these courts in Missouri, the whole state having been divided into that many circuits. So most circuit judges, all of whom are lawyers, have two or more counties in their circuits (The Missouri Blue Book has a map showing what counties are in each circuit). If your father were attending circuit court, we may guess that he went to your county seat. Let us suppose you went with him. As you went into the courtroom (usually in the court house) you no doubt saw a man sitting in the front part of the room with a large open book on his desk. Your father may have whispered to you, "Keep quiet, Judge Smith is hearing a case." You may have wondered how Mr. Smith came to be the judge. Well, he became the nominee of his party for his circuit like the members of the

legislature did, and then was elected by the voters of his circuit in November to serve for six years.

Each circuit judge has much more important cases to look after than do the justices of the peace, so he needs more helpers. So, near him usually sits his stenographer, who takes down in shorthand a great deal of what is said by the witnesses and lawyers when a case is being tried. This stenographer goes around with the judge on his circuit; but in each county there is a helper called the circuit clerk who keeps a list of the cases to be tried, has this list printed for the use of the lawyers, gets out many papers which the judge uses in summoning witnesses and notifying people what to do. The clerk usually sits near the judge, and your father may have told you about both the clerk and the stenographer. While in the courtroom you may have seen the judge motion to a man to come to his desk, and of course you asked your father who that man was. A great deal of the time it is the sheriff. It is his business to see that witnesses are present when wanted, bring prisoners into court, and do many things which the judge wants done. Of course, he has many other things to do besides helping the judge.

And did you wonder when you saw in front of the judge, at his right or left, who the twelve men were facing him? And your father no doubt whispered to you, "That is the jury." While they are not the same men for several years at a time as are the circuit clerk, stenographer, and sheriff, they are helpers of the judge just the same and are really a part of his court.

Now we are going to suppose that you and your father were in the courtroom only a short time, but that you got so interested that you asked him to tell you the story of a case in court. And so this is the story:

"You remember when we heard of Uncle John Doe being killed and we all thought Jake had shot him. Well, the sheriff came out and got Jake, that is, arrested him and took

him to jail. Jake said he didn't kill Uncle John and that the sheriff had no business to keep him in jail. Well, it just happened that a grand jury was meeting at the time in the court house. You see this is a group of twelve men which meets at least once every year at some time when the circuit court meets. It is their business to ask questions of people they have come before them in order to make up their minds whether some one like Jake has committed a crime. They asked me and many others about Uncle John and Jake, and came to believe Jake had killed Uncle John. They indicted him, as we say—that is, accused him through a paper which they left with the prosecuting attorney, of killing Uncle John. Now, if the grand jury had not been in session, our prosecuting attorney, Mr. James, could have accused or charged Jake with the murder. When the prosecuting attorney makes the charge, we call that filing information instead of indictment. As you know, Jake had many friends, and he did not want to stay in jail, and, since the circuit judge could not hear his case for several weeks, Jake asked to give bail, that is, he got a number of men to agree to pay to the state of Missouri \$30,000 if he did not appear in court when ordered to come. That's a big sum of money; the judge could have made it larger or less, but it was an awful thing Jake was accused of doing, and the judge wanted to be sure he would be tried. So the judge fixed the amount and Jake was allowed out of jail until his trial. When it came the day of the trial, the prosecuting attorney was on hand to try to show that Jake was guilty. Jake had hired the two best lawyers he could find to try to show that he was not guilty. In the twelve chairs we saw in the room sat twelve men—they are called the petit or trial jury. They were selected really by the lawyers on each side from a long list of men, for each side can object to any person serving as a juror, and here let me say to you that lawyers are very careful and sure to *think hard* about who shall serve on the jury. That is the

reason that a good trial lawyer should know well as many people as possible who serve on the juries.

"Many of us who knew both Jake and Uncle John were asked to come to the trial. They had each one of us, in turn, sit on a chair between the jury and Judge Smith, and the lawyers asked us all sorts of questions. We were called witnesses. I attended the whole trial. At the beginning of it the lawyers on the two sides told the judge and jury what they were going to prove. Then the witnesses were questioned or examined. At times the lawyers seemed very angry at each other, and the judge would have to decide their disputes. After we witnesses were examined, the lawyers on both sides made speeches to the jury—the prosecuting attorney trying to show that Jake was surely guilty, and Jake's lawyer trying to point out that he was innocent. Judge Smith told or instructed the jury on the law they should follow in deciding the case, just before the lawyers made their speeches.

"After the judge had given his instructions and the lawyers had made their speeches, the jury was taken by the sheriff to a room near the court room. They talked the whole thing over among themselves in order to agree on what the facts were. They all agreed that Jake had killed Uncle John and that he had no good reason for doing so, and therefore he was guilty of murder and should be sentenced to the penitentiary for life. They then marched back into the court room and the foreman, or chairman of the jury, told the judge what they had decided. Of course they could have declared Jake innocent and then he would have been set free. They could have decided that Jake shot Uncle John "in self-defense" and therefore he was not guilty of murder. It was the judge's business to pronounce sentence or judgment upon him. He sentenced him to the Missouri state penitentiary for life. He could have sentenced him to be hanged. The case was appealed to the

Supreme Court of Missouri at Jefferson City, but it decided that the circuit court was correct, and so the sheriff took Jake to Jefferson City to stay for the rest of his life, unless the governor pardons him. Had this crime been one which was punishable by jail sentence, fine, or both, it could have been appealed to the Court of Appeals at Kansas City.

"Now this case I have been telling you about is a criminal case. You remember when Mr. Mix and I had a dispute over where the fence should be between his land and our west forty. We couldn't agree at all, so I took it into court. The case was listed in the circuit clerk's office as Self vs. Mix—I was the plaintiff and he was the defendant. Of course, like all cases of this kind, called civil cases, there was no need to arrest anyone or to have a grand jury or indict anyone. I filed a statement against Mr. Mix with the clerk of the circuit clerk—this is called a petition. Mr. Mix and a number of witnesses were notified to appear in court on the day fixed for the trial. The trial was then very much like that of Jake's. Mr. Mix wanted a jury—he so said when the judge asked us if there was any objection to his deciding the case. You see, then, a civil case can be decided without a jury. Three-fourths of the jury, or nine, decided that Mr. Mix's fence was on our land and he was ordered to move his fence. It took that many to decide the case, but you see it did not take all twelve, as in the criminal case.

"Mr. Mix appealed the case to a higher court, the Kansas City Court of Appeals. He, or rather his lawyer, held that errors or mistakes had been made by Judge Smith in trying the case. Just as in Jake's case, a printed account of what took place in the circuit court was sent to the higher court. When the case came up at Kansas City, Mr. Mix's lawyer and mine both explained the case, for our sides, before that court. They held that no error had been made, and so the decision of the circuit court was upheld, or sus-

tained. They could have held that an error was made, and sent word back to Judge Smith that there must be a new trial, or they could have ordered Mr. Mix to set his fence back only six feet instead of twelve, that is, they could have changed the decision of the circuit court."

Most of the people of the state never see any court at work, save those of the justice of the peace and circuit—but you will remember we have mentioned the higher courts. There are two kinds of these in Missouri, the courts of appeals and the supreme court. Of the cases appealed the less important are taken to the courts of appeals. The state is divided into three parts, and there is a court of appeals for each part. Each court has three judges, the voters of the several parts electing them to serve twelve years at a time. These courts meet in St. Louis, Kansas City, and Springfield.

The supreme court of Missouri holds all its meetings in the supreme court building at Jefferson City. There are seven judges in this court, and they are elected by the voters of the whole state to serve ten years at a time, unless a judge dies or quits serving on this court just because he wants to. They elect one of their own members chairman, or chief justice. A great many cases are taken to this court, so many, in fact, that they have a number of lawyers called commissioners who spend all their time helping the seven judges. The judges also divide up their work. Four of them work most of the time on civil cases, and three of them most of the time on criminal cases. When they want to, all seven may consider the same case. Each one of the higher courts selects its own helpers, such as clerks, marshals, and stenographers, but no one of them ever has a jury to aid it.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Find out who are the justices of the peace and constable of your township, and get them to tell you about their work.
2. Ask your parents if they know the circuit judge, and get one of them to tell you the story of a trial in his court.
3. What is meant by the word "indictment"?
4. Ask a number of men in your neighborhood if they have ever served on juries, and if they have, get them to tell you of their experiences.
5. Find out, by asking some one or reading in the newspapers, who selects the men who serve on the juries.
6. Of what value is it for lawyers to know most of the men in the county in which they live?

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL PARTIES

Ever since you were old enough to talk about what was in the newspapers you have heard about Democrats and Republicans, have you not? And most everyone you know is either a Republican or a Democrat. Hardly any two persons think alike about our government, but if each went ahead in his own way and paid little attention to what the other people said and did, it would be much harder to run the government than it is now. But there are large numbers of people who think and ought to act about the same way about some things, and this has been true in our country for more than 125 years. During most of that time a great per cent of the people have been divided into two parts and this has been because there was more than one way of thinking and acting on questions which came up before the people. Each one of these parts has been, and is known as a political party, and so we have the names Democratic and Republican parties. There are other political parties, but most people belong to one or the other of the two big parties; and they belong, if they are thoughtful, because they feel there is no other way to get done what they wish than by working with many other people. The biggest fights between the two big parties usually come when each is trying to nominate and elect their candidates for office. A few are fighting for the honor and the money which goes with office. Others wish their party in power in order to pass and put in operation certain laws which they think will be of help to some or all of the people. For example, most of the city, township, county and state candidates in 1920 wished the honor and especially the money which went with the office, but, of course, most of the voters cared little for these things. They were interested in such state-wide questions as taxa-

tion, roads, education, and many other things most of which have little to do with the parties; but the party leaders know that they are likely to be called upon any time to state how they stand on these questions, and so well is each large party organized that the candidates are generally pretty careful not to say anything which will offend very many, especially in their own party.

In fact, so important are parties in our government that our very government is sometimes called "party government." You can see how it might be called that, in watching the work of state officials and the state legislature. Men are elected as Democrats or as Republicans. The government itself is really Democratic or Republican. Therefore, it is as important to know how Democrats and Republicans secure their election as it is to know all about the offices themselves, perhaps even more important. To learn the facts relating to these two great political parties is important, because they form the policies and execute the laws of our government. They are at the very foundation of our government. But the subject, although interesting, is by no means simple. A man may know why he is a Democrat or a Republican, but he may know little regarding how the men he votes for ever secured their nomination, or how the party's policies are adopted, or even how the party is run. Some of the most interesting things about our party government take place, beginning several months just before and lasting up to the election (called general election) which we have in November every even numbered year. The most exciting campaign and election in Missouri come every four years—when both the President of the United States and our governor, along with most of our state officials, are elected.

Now once in December 1919, a father was heard telling his children the story of what would take place before the November election of 1920. You see, one of the children had just been reading in the newspaper of a meeting of the

Democratic national committee. So well was the story told that it is worth repeating—"All of you know John Jones. Well, he wishes to be a delegate to the Democratic national convention, and you may be sure that he has read this newspaper item with more interest than any of us. This committee you have been reading about had one person on it from every state and territory in the United States(See Missouri Blue Book 1921-22, page 569). Later on I will tell you when and how they were selected. You just told me that they were meeting in order to fix the time and place of holding their national convention and that they decided to have it the last of the coming June and at San Francisco. Our neighbor Jones must be "laying his wires" now (i. e., planning and getting support of influential people). After this meeting of the national committee the secretary of the committee will send a notice to the state committee(and I will tell you later how and when they are chosen, and something of what they do) that the time and place for their national convention has been fixed. The state committee, through its secretary, sends word on concerning the same thing to the chairman of each committee (and I will tell you later how this county committee is chosen, and something of what they do). The chairman of the county committee consults with his committee and they decide on whether they will call a mass meeting of all the Democratic voters of the county at the court house or whether they will call a mass meeting of the Democratic voters in each voting precinct of the county. In either case they fix the time of the meeting and give notice in the newspapers. If they decide on the mass meeting at the court house, remember every Democratic voter in the county can come and take part, and if they have the mass meeting in the precincts the Democratic voters in each precinct can come and take part.

"I was talking yesterday with the chairman of the Democratic county committee, and he told me he thought

they would have mass meetings in each precinct. If they do, each precinct meeting will send one or more persons (the number will depend largely on the number of voters in the precinct) to a meeting which will be held at the court house a few days later. Such a meeting as this, made up of delegates or persons from the several precincts of the county, is called a county convention. It is not very large, usually 20 to 50 persons. The members of this convention will choose delegates to a state convention (called in Missouri a sub-national convention).

"Now you may be sure that neighbor Jones will take an active part in the meeting here in our precinct and that he will try to get delegates elected to the county convention from our precinct, as well as all the other precincts in the county, who will be in favor of his being a delegate to the national convention. He told me the other day that he hoped I was for him. I forgot to tell you that the state committee decide when and where the sub-national convention will be held, and I understand they are going to have it at Joplin sometime in May.

"Delegates will go to this convention from every county in the state and from St. Louis city. This means many hundreds from all over the state. Of course Mr. Jones will try to get all the delegates from our county to be for his going to the national convention at San Francisco as a delegate. That means that he wishes his home county behind him. Let us suppose they are all in his favor. But he must have more for him than these few, even though he wishes to be only a district delegate, and he told me that is what he wished to be. You see, Missouri is divided into 16 Congressional districts and in this district of ours there are about 12 counties, and so he will need to "lay his wires" in other counties of this district. (For map of Missouri showing these districts, see Blue Book 1921-1922, page 626). This he will do by seeing as many as possible of the delegates in

the 12 counties before they go to Joplin. He will try, no doubt, to get their promise to support him, before they go to Joplin, but, if he fails in that, he will likely still try to get their support after they arrive at Joplin. Some time in the spring, then, you may expect to hear of our delegation being elected and going to the sub-national convention, and you need not be surprised to hear of Mr. Jones being one of the delegates. He will likely go to Joplin a day or two before the convention meets, since he will wish to "mill around" (i. e., talk with as many people as possible and get ideas as to what his chances are of being a delegate).

"Those who go from here and other counties will take with them a paper stating that they were elected at the county convention—this paper we call their credentials, and if there is no one disputing their right to be the delegates, they will become members of the Joplin convention without any trouble. There are generally some disputes and the state committee settles these up to the time of the first meeting of the convention, that is, the state committee makes up what we call the temporary roll of the convention. The convention is generally called to order by the chairman of the state committee, and a chairman and secretary, known as temporary officers, are chosen. Committees are selected, generally made up of one person from each Congressional district. One of these proposes the rules which the convention shall follow; another, generally the most important, passes on the credentials of the delegations from the various counties. These committees make their reports to the convention, and the convention generally accepts the reports. Regular or permanent officers of the convention are then chosen, and the convention settles down to do its real work—and its real work is the selection of delegates to the national convention.

"Now, the delegates they will select are to be divided into two groups, known as the delegates at large and the district delegates. The delegates at large are usually prominent

people in the party. You may expect to see our governor, Mr. Gardner, one of these delegates, and very likely Judge W. W. Graves, of our supreme court, another. These delegates are nominated and elected by the whole convention—sometimes four elected and sometimes eight—but they have only four votes in the national convention; so, if eight are elected, each has only one-half vote (See Missouri Blue Book 1921-1922, pages 570, 528 for list of delegates at large elected to both national conventions). When it comes to the selection of the district delegates, the delegates to the Joplin convention from each congressional district will meet by themselves and select the two persons they wish to have from their district in the national convention. Each one of these persons gets one vote in the national convention, and it is seldom that four are selected and the vote divided as for delegates at large. The two names from each district are then submitted to the whole sub-national convention, and they are generally accepted without any question. We will want to watch next spring and see if the convention accepts Senator Reed from the fifth district, since in many parts of the state the Democrats are fighting him. You can see, then, that, when our delegates from this Congressional district meet, neighbor Jones will be pretty anxious; and let us hope, since he is such a good man, that he succeeds. You see, then, that Missouri will have 36 votes in the national convention which will meet at San Francisco.

“Another thing the sub-national convention at Joplin will do is to nominate electors, two at large and one from each Congressional district. The electors are nominated in about the same way that the delegates are selected. These are the eighteen persons for whom Mr. Jones or any other Democrat will want to vote next November in order to elect a Democratic President. You see, we can't vote for President directly, but we must vote for these electors, who, if they get more votes than the eighteen Republicans, will cast their

votes for the Democratic nominee for President. You remember I said a few minutes ago that each state and territory had one person on the national committee. In Missouri each party selects its national committeeman in the sub-national convention (See Blue Book 1921-1922, pages 531, 576). So you see there are three important things this sub-national convention will do—select 36 delegates to the national convention, nominate 18 electors, and choose a national committeeman

"I just heard today that another neighbor of ours, Mr. Moot, wants to be a district delegate to the Republican national convention. He will need to "lay his wires," too, and the Republicans of this county will likely have a county convention much like the Democrats, but in their convention they select two sets of delegates. One set goes to the Republican district convention which will be held in one of the counties of this Congressional district. At their sub-national convention they nominate their two electors at large and elect their national committeeman. It will be at the district convention that Mr. Moot will have his chance. At this convention will be assembled the delegates from the dozen counties in this Congressional district. They choose two delegates to go to the Republican national convention, which I hear will be held in Chicago. The Republican sub-national convention which is to meet at Kansas City has nothing whatever to do with the selection of these delegates. Let us hope that Mr. Moot succeeds, too, for he is a good man; then maybe we can get both him and Mr. Jones to tell us of their experiences. Another thing which this Republican district convention will do is to nominate a Republican elector from this district. This is done in each one of the Congressional district conventions, so when Mr. Moot goes to vote for President next November, he will, no doubt, cast a vote for each one of the Republican electors, just as Mr. Jones will for each one of the eighteen Democratic electors."

The children watched with a great deal of interest to see what would take place, and they were not surprised to read in the papers of happenings which their father said would come about. Both Mr. Jones and Mr. Moot got to be delegates.

Mr. Moot is a jolly, good-natured man, so the children one by one asked him to tell the story of the Republican national convention which met in Chicago June 8 to 12, 1920. He said jokingly he would do so if they would all agree to be Republicans. In a day or two the children all joined him on his front porch, and he told the story something in this way: "You say your father told you how we Missouri delegates were chosen. Now delegates were chosen from every state in the Union, not exactly in the same way, since in some states the voters of each party choose the delegates through what we call, in Missouri, a primary election. There were about 1000 of us delegates in the convention. The national committee met in Chicago several days before many of us arrived there. They were examining credentials in order to see who would make up the temporary roll of the convention, and getting everything ready for us. On June the eighth the chairman of the national committee called the convention to order and a prayer was offered by one of the prominent preachers of Chicago. The call for the convention, which you saw in the newspapers in December, was read by the secretary of the committee, and then the chairman of the committee put in nomination the temporary officers. The convention elected them without any debate. The temporary chairman made a speech in which he said some pretty strong things against the Democratic party. There was lots of noise and much cheering of what he said. When he was through with his speech, a roll of the states and territories was called, beginning with Alabama. This was done so that they might announce the persons they had selected for each one of the important committees, that is, the com-

mittee on credentials, committee on permanent organization, committee on rules and order of business, and the committee on resolutions, or platform. That is about all that was done by the convention the first day we met, but you should have seen and heard it all. There were forty of us delegates from Missouri. Just in front of where we sat was a large poster raised several feet above our heads. On this poster was the word "Missouri." At times we let out several war whoops for our old state, just as other state delegations were doing. We joked each other considerably and talked over who would be nominated for President. That night we went our own ways, each trying to find out as much as he could of what was going on.

"The next day the committee on credentials gave its report—their business is to decide on who should be in the convention in case there is what we call a dispute over a seat. Their report was accepted by this convention, but I heard a few grumble about it. The committee on permanent organization reported next—they named the permanent chairman, secretary, and other officers of the convention. The convention also accepted this report. The temporary chairman made a nice little speech in presenting the permanent chairman of the convention, Senator Lodge. Senator Lodge then made a rather long political speech, and many suggestions were made as to what we Republicans should do. Soon after this speech the committee on rules made its report, which was also accepted by the convention. Up to that time we had used the same rules that the Republican national convention used in 1916. The committee on rules reported to us just about the same rules.

"Of course all this time the committee on the platform had been at work. In fact, many Republicans all over the United States had been at work on this long before the convention met. On the third day they made their report, which was accepted without very much debate (See Missouri Blue

Book 1921-1922, pages 521, 563 for both party platforms). On the next day the chairman announced that the roll of states would be called, so that each state would have the chance to present some one to the convention as the nominee for President of the United States. Again the roll was called, beginning with Alabama. Most of them presented no name. Of course California, Illinois, New York, and Ohio each presented one, since each had a man who wished to be nominated. It was very interesting to listen to the speeches of those who presented the names. When each was through with his speech, those favoring the person named cheered a long time, banners were waved, and bands played. All of these speeches took many hours of time, but it was so exciting that I didn't think about how much time it took. After all the names were presented, we began to vote by states. Not all the delegates from each state voted the same way, but one of the forty delegates from our state always announced our vote to the convention. Other states did the same way. As you noticed in the newspapers, it took a good many ballots (A ballot is a vote taken by the members of the convention to see how many votes each person has whose name has been presented) before Mr. Harding had a majority of all the votes in the convention. After his nomination the convention was not nearly so interesting, but names were presented and voted on for Vice-President in much the same way as was done for President. The names of persons chosen for national committeeman from each state were announced to the convention. Can you tell me how the one from Missouri was chosen? That is correct, he was chosen by the sub-national convention which met at Kansas City, but not all states choose their national committeeman in that way; some leave the choice to the delegates they send to the national convention. You see, then, the big thing this convention did was to nominate men for President and Vice-President. The convention also formed a new national com-

mittee which will raise a great deal of money and spend it for printing pamphlets, campaign books, providing for speakers' advertising in newspapers—in a word doing everything they can to elect Mr. Harding and Mr. Coolidge. Another thing we did at Chicago which should be of considerable importance was making our platform. It was printed in full in the newspapers, and if Mr. Harding is elected, let us watch and see if he and his party do what they have promised in this platform."

The children all left Mr. Moot's porch with the notion that when Mr. Jones returned they would ask him to tell the story of the Democratic convention. They did this, and his story was quite as interesting as that of Mr. Moot but so similar that we need not repeat it, except to say that when he came to the part in which he was telling them about casting the ballots for Mr. Cox, Mr. Underwood, and others, he said, "Now you see the Republicans can nominate their man by a majority of all the votes in the convention, and it takes two-thirds of all ours." He told them about the Baltimore convention in 1912 when Champ Clark had a majority of the votes but could not get the two-thirds.

You would think, of course, that there was no need to notify Mr. Cox and Mr. Roosevelt that they had been nominated by the Democrats at San Francisco, or Mr. Harding and Mr. Coolidge that they had been nominated at Chicago, but each party sent a committee, as they usually do, not so much to let them know that they had been nominated, but to give them a chance to say something to all the people of the United States.

Now the campaign for election of President and Vice-President goes on, usually getting more exciting and interesting, until its close in November. As you have noticed before, in reading about the nomination and election of the governor, members of the legislature, and judges, we have a primary election in Missouri every even numbered year on

the first Tuesday in August. It is at these primaries that we begin to see how the committees we have spoken of are formed. Should you go to the place where the voters are voting at the primary in August, you would see the judges handing out ballots, as the voters come in, like they did in the election in November, with the exception that they hand each voter only one ballot, that of the party of which the person is a member. On this ballot the voter will find a blank space in which he may write the name of the person he wishes for his committeeman from his ward or township (Each township or ward may have two committeemen if the county committee orders it). Sometimes, however, a person will want to let his supporters know that he wishes to be their committeeman, and so the law allows him to have his name printed on the ballot (See sections 4827 and 4848 Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1919).

These persons elected from the several wards and townships of the county make up the county committee. The law requires that they meet at the court house of their county the first Tuesday after the primary election. They are to organize by electing one of their number chairman, and a secretary and treasurer, who need not be a member of the committee. The person who is elected chairman becomes, because he is the chairman, a member of the congressional, senatorial and judicial committees of the district of which his county is a part. The senatorial and judicial committees are not very important and seldom meet, and the law does not even provide for their meeting; but the law does say that on the third Tuesday in August after the primary the congressional committee shall meet at some place in the congressional district to be named by the then chairman of the committee. When they meet, like the county committee, they elect one of their number chairman and one of their own number or another person or persons as secretary and treasurer. The most important business they have to do is to

choose two voters of the congressional district as members of the state committee.

There being sixteen congressional districts in the state, you therefore see that the state committee has thirty-two members (See Blue Book 1921-1922, pages 531 and 576 for names of the state committees and also names of women who are really now members of the state committees). The law (see section 4848 Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1919) says these must meet at noon, on the second Tuesday of September following the primary, at some place to be named by the then state committee. This committee organizes by electing a chairman and secretary and treasurer, and the law reads further "and after having so organized, shall meet with the party nominees for state officers, congressmen, state senators, representatives, and forthwith formulate a state platform for their party, and make public the same not later than six o'clock in the afternoon of the following day." The state committees of both parties always meet in Jefferson City when they, along with those running for the offices just mentioned, make the state platform (For platforms, see pages 530 and 571 of the Missouri Blue Book 1921-1922). These meetings are called state conventions, but you see they are quite different from the sub-national conventions. If it be a year when a governor is to be elected, the nominees for governor have a great deal to say about what goes into the platforms. Or if it be a year like 1922, you may expect Governor Hyde to have much to say about what goes into the Republican platform, just as Governor Gardner did for the Democrats in 1918. If the party has a United States senator from Missouri, he usually takes quite a hand also in writing the platform. The national committeeman of each party is sometimes very active in this convention.

These many committees and conventions we have been speaking of are all a part of what we call the party organization. They are all the time fighting to get and keep control

of the government in townships, cities, counties, states, and nation. Whenever an election comes on, the committees, which you see are organized the year around, are supposed to, and they generally do, take the lead in influencing voters to support the candidates of the parties they represent. They raise and spend much money in printing handbills, advertising in the papers, supplying speakers where needed, and taking advantage of any mistakes their opponents make. Often members of these committees want office for themselves, and many times they get office either by appointment or election. Sometimes, however, persons serving on these committees care little for office, but like the excitement and what they sometimes call fun in politics both in winning and losing. We need to remember, too, that those members of each party who get office usually pay a great deal of attention, while in office, to those who are known as the faithful who serve on committees and in conventions. This means that a whole host of men and women belonging to both parties are constantly giving advice to those who are in the executive offices, the legislature, and the courts. So our government in both the state and nation is not split up into departments nearly so much as we sometimes think. There are these party organizations, and their work reaches from small places like villages, towns, townships, to counties, cities of every size, the whole state, the nation. They pay little attention to separation into departments. They are out to get control of any government in sight, and when one party gets control of it especially through these organizations, it tries to keep all the people elected on its ticket working together. This they do whether the persons are in the executive offices, legislature, the courts, or on party committees. You hear them say many times, "We must present a united front to the enemy," meaning by that the other big party. You will often hear people boast that they take no part in politics—meaning they *have* nothing to do with party conventions, mass meetings,

and committees—but such people are usually those who either know little of what is going on in our “party government” or are so selfish that they think government will run along very well without people being much interested; or they have noticed the really bad things some people do while working on party organization or running for office, and actually believe that any one who takes part in politics lowers himself. To many people the party organization and its work furnish a real chance to do some real good for all people.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Find out who are the chairmen of the party committees in your county, and ask them to tell you about their work.
2. Name the different kinds of party conventions we have in Missouri, and describe the work of each.
3. Suppose you know a person who wishes to be a delegate to one of the national conventions. Write a story describing what he would have to do in order to get to go.
4. For what purposes are party mass meetings held in Missouri?
5. Which do you think is the better way to elect delegates to the sub-national conventions in Missouri, in county mass meetings or county conventions? Give your reasons.

CHAPTER VII

BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS

One hundred years ago, and even up to the end of the nineteenth century, most people in the state never thought of wanting the state government to do the many things they want it to do today. Of course we had the executive, legislative, and judicial departments, and the great political parties. These departments did most of the work of the state government except that done through institutions like the educational institutions. We find things different today. There are so many boards, bureaus, commissions, and so-called departments that it is hard to keep them all in mind. As the people of the state travel more and have more to do with each other, have more and more ways of making their living, and have more needs, they wish the state government to help them more and more. They have found that the departments—legislative, executive, and judicial—have enough to do to keep up their regular work, and so, through the legislature, they have made what some have called a “new kind of government;” and therefore we get boards and commissions and the like. Most of them do their work without paying much attention to what the others are doing, and so we often have what is called “overlapping” of work. For example, several persons have said, “While the state dairy commissioner is in a certain place inspecting dairy products, why could he not also inspect other food and drink products in that place?”

Governor Hyde saw so much of this “overlapping” that he advised the legislature in 1921 to pass laws to put a stop to it. He argued that much money could be saved and better service given to the people if the many boards and bureaus, etc., were united under a few heads. The legislature took

his advice and passed laws creating departments of agriculture, budget, public welfare, and labor. For example, under the Missouri state department of agriculture was placed the following boards, etc.: (1) the state fruit station and board at Mountain Grove; (2) the state poultry station, poultry board, and state poultry association at Mountain Grove; (3) the Missouri state horticultural society; (4) the state board of horticulture; (5) the stallion registry board; (6) the department of land reclamation; (7) the board and bureau of immigration; (8) the state grain and warehouse commissioner and grain inspection department; (9) the state board of agriculture; (10) the state fair and state fair board. This law creating an agricultural department, along with several others, was referred to the voters by referendum petition at the November election, 1922.

The very naming of many boards, bureaus, etc., that we have in Missouri will give a hint of what they do, but we will try to study them a little further. Did you ever hear of the state board of accountancy? There is such a board of five members appointed by the governor for five years. Each member gets \$5.00 per day and expenses while at work on the board. They give examinations to persons who want to be public accountants, and they keep a list of names of all public accountants. An accountant is a person who knows how to go into a bank, a factory, or a store and tell you how the business has been run, how the books have been kept, and many other things which business men and others often wish to know.

The state board of agriculture is one of the most useful in the state. The governor, state superintendent of schools, and the dean of the college of agriculture at Columbia are members *ex officio* (because of the position each holds). Then there is a member from each congressional district appointed by the governor for a term of four years. This board has a very active secretary, and since the board is so

large, much of the actual work is carried on by him. The board does dozens of things to help farmers, such as getting out crop reports, inspecting cream and milk stations, helping control stock diseases, and aiding county fairs (See Missouri Blue Book 1921-1922, page 823, for names of members of the board and a further statement of their work).

Now, if you have ever gone into a barber shop to get your hair cut, you have likely seen in the shop a paper saying that the barber has passed his examination and therefore may carry on his trade. There is a state board of examiners for the barbers. There are three members of this board appointed by the governor, and they serve for four years. They give notice in the newspapers ten days before hand if they hold an examination in a town.

There is a beverage inspection department composed of an inspector and four regular deputy inspectors. Their main business is to inspect soft drinks, for which they charge three-fifths of a cent per gallon. This department has a chemist, whose business it is to find out what is in the beverage, and an accountant.

One of the most important commissions in the state is that for the blind. There are five commissioners, appointed by the governor. They get no pay for their services. The commission runs a large shop in St. Louis and a smaller one in Kansas City. Here the blind are taught broom making, mop making, and several other trades which the blind work at. After they are taught their trades, they are urged by the commission to go back to their homes and go into business for themselves. The blind who cannot go to St. Louis and Kansas City to learn a trade are taught in their own homes. There are two teachers who go out and do this work. Then there are other teachers who sometimes go out from the shop in St. Louis. The commission also gets jobs for blind people, such as tuning pianos. They also do a very important work in preventing people from going blind.

There are seventy-two oculists in the state who help out without any pay, when poor persons having trouble with their eyes are sent to them by the commissioners.

The commission has another important thing to do in looking after pensions for the blind. The voters of Missouri so changed the constitution in 1916 and 1920 that the legislature has to levy a tax on property of from one-half to three cents on each one hundred dollars assessed valuation to pension the blind and pay for the work carried on by the commission. Should there be any money left over, it goes to the schools of the state; but there is not likely to be, since there was, up to November 29, 1921, 3,500 blind people whom the commission had enrolled and said should have a pension (See Missouri Blue Book, page 832, for further facts).

Another board, whose business it is to look after the needs of those who cannot always help themselves, is that of charities and corrections. The governor is a member ex-officio, and he appoints six others, all of whom serve without pay. This board may inspect carefully any jail, poor house, the penitentiary, the insane asylums, in a word, all public institutions which we call in Missouri eleemosynary, state hospital for insane, e. g.) and penal (penitentiary, e. g.). The board also has a children's bureau and a special director whose business it is to find homes for neglected and dependent children, and see that they are not kept in jails and poor houses. This bureau can also see that any blind, deaf, dumb, crippled, backward, or weak-minded child is placed in school, if such child has not finished all eight grades, and that the county where the child is found shall pay the expense. The work of the board has recently been increased considerably, for the legislature, in 1921, established a home for neglected and dependent children. This home has been located at Carrollton, and it will be used as a place to take children and so keep and treat them that they will

become like other children. It is the intention to keep them only until regular homes can be found for them. The children taken are supposed to be of sound mind and not over seventeen years of age. The board has other interesting duties to look after, in advising and helping on such matters as mothers' pensions, children's courts, and getting reports from all the counties concerning the way they take care of the poor and the insane.

You may have wondered if you went to the dentist to have a tooth fixed or pulled, whether just any one could be a dentist; but if you looked around the dentist's office very much, you saw a statement that he had passed an examination given by the Missouri dental board and this really gave him the right to work on your teeth. This board is made up of five members who are appointed by the governor for a term of five years. They get \$5.00 per day and expenses, while working on the board. They have printed a pamphlet which tells about how they do their work, which you can get by writing to the Secretary of Missouri Dental Board, Jefferson City, Missouri.

Until about a year ago most any one who cared to could fit you with a pair of eye glasses if you wished to have him do so. We now have a board called the Missouri state board of optometry which examines people who fit eye glasses. There are five members of the board, who, except in the case of the first board, all have five year terms. Each gets \$7.00 per day and actual expenses while working on the board. They charge what we call a fee for examining people and giving them the right to fit eye glasses. The fees are to pay the salary and expense of the board.

Just as your state government has something to say about who works on your teeth, fits you with a pair of eye glasses, or clips your hair, so does it have something to say about just what persons shall prepare and sell the medicine which you buy at a drug store. Missouri has had, for more than

ten years now, a board of pharmacy. It is made up in much the same way as the dental board.

Most of us do not get medicine from the drug store very often, and it may be we never have to have a pair of eye glasses fitted, and only once in a while do we visit the dentist, but there is not one of us, in good health, who does not eat three or more times every day. And did you ever see your mother frown when she happened to get hold of a bad egg or some ice cream which was supposed to be sweet but was really sour? Largely because quite a number of people would not be honest and sell good and pure drugs and food, your state legislature passed laws which provide for what we call a food and drug department. The head of this department is called a commissoiner, and he has some twenty assistants of different kinds. Wherever food and drugs are made, stored, or sold, and the place is found to be unclean and likely to cause sickness, the commissioner may close the place up.

We hear more about the food and drug department's work in connection with eggs and ice cream than any other foods. Any person buying, selling, dealing in eggs has to get a license, an annual fee of \$2.00 being charged for the retail seller and \$10.00 for the dealer in carload lots. Fees are also charged for the inspection and grading of ice cream when made in considerable quantities by what are called manufacturers of ice cream. You can see that the department will take in enough money to keep it running.

Much good, no doubt, has come ot the people of the state through the food and drug department, especially in guarding people's health, but there is a board for that special purpose in Missouri, that is, the state board of health. There are seven members of this board appointed by the governor for a term of four years. Like most of the boards, they get a small salary daily while working on the board. It is their duty to study the causes and try to prevent dis-

eases, to try to keep out such diseases as smallpox (i. e., infectious diseases), to have charge of the registration of all births and deaths, to send people to meetings where they are discussing matters of health, to remove any health officer of a county from his office who is not doing his work as he should, and appoint a state commissioner of health. This commissioner is really in charge of most of the work of the board that we have just mentioned. Did you ever wonder who gave the doctor who comes to see you when you are sick the right to carry on his work? The state health board gives examinations to persons who want to be doctors, and, if they pass the examinations, furnishes them a paper called a license. Sometimes you will see this license hanging up in a doctor's office (See Missouri Blue Book, pages 840 to 844, for further facts on this board).

We have in Missouri a separate board of five who examine and give licenses to osteopaths. They are appointed by the governor for terms of five years each and get a small daily salary while serving on the board.

There is also a board of nurse examiners, of five members, appointed by the governor for a term of three years. All persons called nurses who get money for caring for the sick must get a statement from this board saying they are fit to do their work. An attendant must pay a fee of \$10.00 for the examination, and a nurse \$15.00. There is a good deal of grumbling, in parts of the state, about the size of the fees charged, and the fact, too, that nearly all the nurses on the board are from two large cities. Others think that the board will be fair to all those whom they examine whether they are from the large cities or not.

Our state government does not stop with trying to see that we have the right kind of persons to work on our teeth, fit our eye glasses, see that we get pure food and drugs, have well examined medical doctors, osteopaths and druggists, but *it has* provided for another department, which does a great

deal to guard people's health, especially those working in factories in the three large cities. This is called the industrial inspection department. The head of this department sees that laws such as the nine-hour law, concerning women, are carried out. There are also a number of laws on child labor, accidents in industry, cleanliness where food is prepared, as in bake shops, restaurants, factories of various kinds, which this department carries out. This department will no doubt become an increasing help to all people who labor in factories.

Missouri has also a negro industrial commission, made up of one person from each Congressional district. They serve without pay other than expenses while coming to meetings of the commission, and are appointed by the governor. It is their business to find out all they can about the health, education, labor conditions and housing conditions of the negroes in Missouri, and suggest things to be done to help the colored people of the state. This commission has printed three pamphlets on their work which can be gotten by writing their secretary, Jefferson City, Missouri.

We noticed at the beginning of this chapter, in speaking of the board of agriculture, that there were a number of boards, departments, and commissions whose work was very closely related to the work of this board. One of these is the grain and warehouse department. Missouri has had such a department for nearly ten years now. Persons who are buying and selling grain like to have some one who is not interested look over the grain and tell them its quality and also weigh it, or see that it is inspected well and weighed correctly. The work of this department extends to all parts of the state where enough grain is handled to pay for the work of the department in inspecting and weighing. The United States government has worked out a set of standards for inspecting corn, wheat, and oats which is used all over our nation. All inspectors of grain in the state department

are given a license from the federal government. If you were moving grain into or sending it out of Missouri, such movement would be called interstate commerce. Much of the grain moves in that way, hence the need for the two governments working together. Thus we see not only the licenses are given, but, if you are shipping grain in that way, you may appeal from the state department's inspection to what is called a board of Review of the national government, located in Chicago.

There is also a great deal of work to do in weighing the grain. The weight of about 110,000 cars of grain is given each year. This department has men who know how to tell whether scales are weighing correctly. They have fine instruments to help carry on this work. The United States government, through its bureau of standards, helps in keeping these instruments in such shape that there can be little doubt about their being accurate. There are over 100 people who work in this department. They are nearly all located in either Kansas City or St. Louis. Considerably more than half of the employees receive \$1500 a year, and most of the rest get \$1800. The salary of the head of the department is \$4500. The fees from inspecting and weighing much more than pay these employees.

If you lived on a farm or were to visit a farm house and not see some poultry around, especially chickens, you would be very much surprised. The poultry business is very important in our state, so important that thousands wish to know about the best incubators, houses, brooders, feed, and how to feed. They wish also to know how to keep down and deal with poultry diseases and what are simple tests to find out whether hens are good layers. In order to help people in these matters, our state established, about ten years ago, a poultry experiment station at Mountain Grove in Wright County. Here is a forty-acre farm with numbers of buildings with equipment to carry on the work. One of the most

interesting experiments they are now trying is with a ten-acre plot of land called the demonstration farm. They are going to show what can be done on such farm with 1200 hens. The government of the station is in the hands of six persons appointed by the governor, three from each one of the leading parties in the state. There is an advisory board made up of the governor, dean of the college of agriculture, and secretary of the state board of agriculture. The six persons making up the poultry board arrange for and carry on poultry shows, poultry institutes, and poultry extension work. These men are not paid for their work, getting only their expenses while attending meetings of the board. Of course the main work of the station is in the hands of the director, who is also secretary-treasurer of the board.

Some of the farms you see in Missouri are attractive because of the fine poultry and the way it is taken care of; others you admire because of the well-kept orchard, the berry patch, or the shrubbery. Just before the Civil War a group of persons in Missouri organized themselves into what was known as a horticultural society. These persons were interested in such things as we have just spoken of. After a time the state helped these people in conducting meetings, holding exhibitions, giving premiums, and publishing reports of what they were doing. About fifteen years ago the state legislature provided for a state board of horticulture made up in the same manner as the state poultry board, with the exception that the governor, state superintendent of schools, and the professor of horticulture at the University of Missouri are ex-officio members. Most of the regular work of the board is under the direction of a paid secretary, the members of the board receiving no pay except expenses while attending board meetings.

Missouri has a fruit experiment station at Mountain Grove. It is in charge of a board of three trustees appointed by the governor. There is a paid director and several help-

ers, among whom is an extension horticulturist. The station has a farm of about 200 acres. They have planted on this farm over 500 varieties of apples, 150 varieties of grapes, 30 to 100 varieties each of peaches, plums, cherries, bush fruits, and strawberries (Missouri Blue Book 1921-1922, page 836). They try many kinds of experiments at this station and make careful studies of diseases and insects which affect fruits.

Another board which has considerable to do with farm interests is the state fair board. There are 16 members and they are the same persons who make up the state board of agriculture. They have a different secretary, however, who carries on the active work of the board. A state fair is held each year at Sedalia (for further description see Missouri Blue Book 1921-1922, page 71).

You who have read "Black Beauty" may have wondered if we have anybody in Missouri who is interested in doctoring sick animals. Such a person is called a veterinarian. We have a veterinary examining board for the whole state. They examine people who wish to doctor animals, for it is needful to protect stock growers against fake veterinarians. The board is made up of three members, two of whom are appointed by the governor for terms of two years. The state veterinarian is secretary and a member ex-officio. He is appointed by the state board of agriculture. Examinations are held at least once each year at any place where the board cares to hold them.

As you know, Missouri has not only a great many kinds of farming interests, but has also many mining interests. There is a bureau of geology and mines which has its headquarters at Rolla. There is a board of five members, four of whom are appointed by the governor. The governor is an ex-officio member and president of the board. The big working force of this bureau is the state geologist whom the board appoints. His duty is to help in further developing mining. The bureau also is cooperating with the United

States government through its geological survey in making what is called a topographic map of the state on the scale of one inch per mile, and in finding out what water power the state has.

There is also a bureau of mines and mine inspection, which has no connection with the bureau we have been talking about. There are seven inspectors in this bureau, all of whom are appointed by the governor and may be removed at his pleasure. Their business is altogether that of inspection, and their work is very important if done carefully.

The farmer, like the miner, is working at what is called an extractive industry. What he raises and what the miner digs out of the ground is changed little by him before he sells it or uses it. It is the same with the fisherman and the hunter. Missouri has a fish and game department with a commissioner at its head. He has about two dozen deputies and three superintendents of fish hatcheries. These hatcheries are in St. Louis and Springfield. The commissioner and his assistants have a number of laws on fish and game which they see are carried out (work of this department rather clearly pointed out in Missouri Blue Book 1921-1922, page 839).

Another very important extractive industry is the oil business, but of course most of the petroleum products sold in Missouri for lighting and heating purposes have been refined or changed considerably after coming out of the earth. We have an oil inspection department to look after these products. The manufacturer pays an inspection tax for this purpose. The main office of this department is in Jefferson City, with branch offices in each of our two large cities.

You have noticed in our story of boards and commissions, bureaus, etc., that we have often referred to the Missouri Blue Book. Now the bureau of labor statistics, at the head of which is a commissioner, gets out a book called the Red Book, which gives all kinds of interesting facts about

labor in our state. This bureau has what are known as free employment bureaus in each one of the three large cities. One may go there and ask help in getting a job. Of course there are numbers of persons in the state who run what are called employment agencies. These also get people jobs, but they charge for doing so. The bureau of labor employs a man to inspect these private agencies. He is to see that they deal fairly with people who use them.

Did your father ever show you an insurance policy? He may have one on your house and all the goods in your house, and he may also have one or several on his life. His intention is that, should his property burn or should he lose his life, the company furnishing him the policy should pay to him or his family so much money. He pays the company so much money to furnish each one of these policies. Now soon after the Civil War the Missouri legislature created an insurance department. You can likely see why they did so. Up to that time most any one could get up a company and go around selling policies, and there was no one in Missouri to see that they made good what they promised in these policies. The department still exists, and it sees that the companies do the right thing. So the policy holders are now protected. The department can say how much a company can charge for its policies, and, if the company does not obey, the department can keep it from selling policies in the state. This department, you can see, does a very important work. It took in, in fees, in 1920 over \$125,000 and nearly \$1,240,000 in taxes while its expenses that year were about \$66,000; thus leaving a balance to the state of about \$1,300,000.

We have seen very many ways people have of making their living in our state, how the state government tries to see that we get good dentists, doctors, barbers, and that we get pure food. Of course we get into many disputes about *what the law is* and what we should do about many things.

We need people to help tell us what the law is and to settle our disputes. But before we get them to help us we wish to feel that they know what they are about. Of course you guess at once that these people who help us in disputes are lawyers. Missouri has what is known as a law examining board of five members appointed by the supreme court. The court decides how long these members shall serve. They examine persons who wish to be lawyers and give the list of names of those who pass to the supreme court, and the court gives each one of these persons a license which permits the person to practice law.

Another examining board is that of the state board of embalmers. To any one who wishes to have an undertaking business this board becomes important. The members of this board of five are appointed by the governor. They give examinations to those who wish to become licensed embalmers. They take in fees for the work they do and so pay their expenses.

Did you ever think what might take place if a great number of people in the community where you live would not obey the laws and were so strong that the officers could do nothing with them? Missouri has a military department, headed by an adjutant-general who would help the officers in case they were needed badly. The soldiers who would actually take part in helping the military department are organized into what is known as a national guard (see Blue Book 1921-1922, page 854, for list of officers of this guard).

Members of the national guard are seldom used, but it may be we all feel safer because we have such a guard. Our state government should protect us from harm, but it should also help us by giving information and educating children in the public schools. Now there is a school board for the school you are attending, often called the board of education. There is also a state board of education, the people who serve on it all being ex-officio members. They are the state

superintendent of schools, the secretary of state, the governor, and the attorney-general. This board does not have very much to do with the schools, even though the law says (section 11398 Revised Statutes 1919) it shall be its duty "to take the general supervision over the entire educational interests of the state." This does not mean that the state superintendent of schools has little to do with the schools of our state. He has a great deal to do, but not as a member of this board. If you will look in the Missouri Blue Book (1921-1922) page 731, you will find a very interesting story of a "Century of Missouri Schools." One section will show you how interesting it is and how important is the work of the state superintendent. "At the capitol the educational department occupies ten large rooms, elegantly equipped for the busiest kind of work. Here are found the state superintendent of schools and his chief assistant; rural, high school and teacher training inspectors; vocational education supervisors; statisticians; clerks; stenographers; and others who handle the enormous daily business transacted in these office rooms. When we know there are far over twenty-one thousand teachers in the state who need attention and seek information, we get a faint idea of the immensity of the necessary correspondence. Hundreds of perplexing questions must be answered in a courteous and satisfactory manner. Thousands of circular letters are sent out giving needed information to superintendents, teachers, and pupils.

"Besides all this, many weeks are spent in preparing publications required by law for the use of teachers and school officers. Fifteen publications are regularly printed, and some of them have over three hundred pages. Many times twenty-five or thirty thousand copies of each one are mailed to different parts of the state. In June, this year, 15,298 teachers' examination papers were sent to the department from the different counties to be graded."

Were you to turn to page 848 of the same Blue Book, you would also find an interesting account of the work of the state historical society of Missouri, located at Columbia. This society is supported by the state through money appropriated to it by the legislature. Its work is directed and a great deal of it done by a secretary. It publishes a very interesting and useful magazine called the Missouri Historical Review which every member of the society gets. Any one is welcomed as a member of the society who will pay the yearly dues of one dollar. It answers free all kinds of questions about Missouri history, and loans its books all over the state. It has a historical library of 140,000 volumes, including 12,000 volumes of Missouri newspapers. It receives, binds, and keeps several hundred newspapers which are published in Missouri. The society has published the Journal left us by the Constitutional Convention of 1875, and is now publishing the Messages of Missouri Governors from 1820 to 1922.

This society is the most important organization in the state furnishing information about Missouri, but there is another organization, the Missouri library commission, with offices and a library in the capitol building, which sends useful books of most every kind all over the state. These books are generally sent where people cannot get to a library. The packages, or box of books, sent is known as a traveling library. The secretary of the commission has charge of the work. He is also very active and anxious to help any community to have a library of its own, or at least loan them a traveling library. Since counties in Missouri may now vote to have a free public library, the commission can surely be very helpful to a county which decides to have one.

Another library of great use, especially to lawyers and members of the legislature, is the Missouri state library. This is housed in the supreme court building at Jefferson City. You can find there the laws of every state and of many foreign countries.

There is a beautiful library room in the capitol building, on the same floor as the rooms of the house of representatives and the senate, which is called the legislative reference library room. It has been used some, while the legislature was in session, the legislature employing persons who knew



ARCH OF LEGISLATIVE LIBRARY, MISSOURI'S STATE CAPITOL

how to collect material and where to get it. There is quite a lot of material in this room which is of value to members of the legislature. The library commission has charge of the material, but they have never had enough money to put it in shape so that it is of much use to any one.

Missouri has one of the most beautiful and useful capitol buildings in the United States. It took over four years (1913-1917) to build it, and the grounds, building, and furnishings cost more than \$4,000,000. A commission of four men, two from each leading political party, have had charge

of the work. Their work is nearly done, and everybody is greatly pleased with it. They made a final report of this work to the governor and general assembly in 1919. This report is very interesting and has in it some pictures which you would like to see (write to your representative or senator and ask if he can get this report for you; also see the Blue Book 1921-1922, page 863).

You may wonder who it is that looks after this building. There is for that purpose an ex-officio board made up of the governor, attorney-general, auditor, secretary of state, and state treasurer. This "permanent seat of government board" appoints a commissioner and some three dozen others who do all the many things which need to be done around such a great building.

You would guess at once that from what we have said about the work of the state superintendent of schools, the Blue Book, the Red Book, the Laws, the Revised Statutes, and the Report of the State Capitol Commission that Missouri spends many thousands of dollars each year for printing. The state has a public printing commission, also ex-officio, made up of the secretary of state, the state auditor, and the state treasurer.

Of all the boards and commissions which we have been talking about, none are more important than those which have to do with the getting and spending of money for the state. The general assembly makes laws on these matters, but there must be some one to carry them out. The state tax commission, made up of three members appointed by the governor, helps do this in many ways. As you may know, each county has an assessor (about one-fourth of the counties have township assessors and so no county assessor). These assessors go from person to person and assess their property, that is, put down on a sheet of paper how much the lands, houses, hogs, cattle, and household goods are worth. We call this the valuation of the property. Now the general assembly

fixes the rate we shall pay in state taxes; the county court the rate for the county; the city council for the city; the school board for the school district. None of these say how much the property is worth; that is left at first to the assessor.

As an example, there was a man in the year 1920 whose property (property was a house and lots and household goods) the assessor valued (i. e., said was worth) at \$3600. The general assembly in 1921 fixed a rate on this of 7 cents on the hundred dollars valuation, that is, they really said to this man, "you must pay to your county collector for the state of Missouri 7 cents for each \$100 worth of property you have." As we have noticed in talking about the blind commission, the general assembly fixed the blind pension rate at 2 cents. They also fixed the rate for paying for the capitol building at 1 cent. Thus, for every \$100 worth of property which this man had, he paid 10 cents to the state, or a total of \$3.60. He paid 35 cents to the county, or a total of \$12.60; 45 cents to the city, or total of \$18.20; 95 cents to the school district, or a total of \$34.20. You can see, therefore, how important it is for a piece of property which is worth just the same as another piece to be valued the same by the assessor. If a person who owns a piece of property feels that this has not been done, he may ask the county board of equalization (see chapter on Rural Government) to make the value the same.

But, even then, a county assessor and board of equalization in one county may value the property much lower or higher in their county than property of the same value in another county. For example, in two of the richest counties in the state, some time ago, the land in one being just about the value of the land in the other, the land in one was assessed at \$25 on the acre and in the other \$100. The land owner in each county should have been paying the same state tax on the value of an acre of land, but in one county he

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an ex-officio board
made up of the state's governor, treasurer, auditor, secretary
of state, and attorney-general. The constitution of the state
(Article X, Section 18) says "the duty of said board shall be
to adjust and equalize the valuation of real and personal
property among the several counties of the state." This
means the board can raise or lower the value of all the land

or other property in a county, but it cannot raise or lower the value of, say, Mr. Jones' land if Mr. Jones' land is valued too high in comparison with Mr. Brown's; it is the business of the county board of equalization to equalize the value of these two pieces of land. In case of the man whose lots and house were assessed at \$3600, the state board could not lower the value, say, ten cents on the hundred dollars valuation without lowering the value of every town lot in the county the same amount.

The state board of equalization begins its work the last Wednesday in February of each year, and keeps on working from time to time until the first Monday in October. During that time many people from various towns, cities, counties, and especially school districts come before the board and ask that the value of the property for their whole community either be raised or lowered.

You can see how the work of this board and the tax commission is so important to all of us, especially those of us who wish good schools, for, if the valuation of property is not as it should be, it may be a community can not raise enough money to have a good school; for the constitution, perhaps wisely, forbids both the school board and the voters in the school district to fix the rate behind a certain amount. For a long time the board of equalization would not equalize the value so that all property would be assessed at about full value; but, beginning in 1921, the board tried to put the assessed valuation at the real value, and so many more school districts have been able to get what money they needed to run the schools.

You may have heard some one say that the preacher or the teacher was doing the most important work in most communities, but did you ever stop to think of the number of people who went to the banker to get his advice, not only about money matters but about almost any question of interest? We have in Missouri a department of finance which

has a great deal to say about how banks, loan associations, and trust companies shall run their business (this does not include national banks). On June 30, 1921, there were nearly 1550 banks and trust companies which were looked after by this department. The value of the property of these was over \$900,000,000. About two months later nearly 200 building and loan associations and trust companies were reported as being looked after by this department. The value of their property was around \$50,000,000. Did you ever see in the newspapers an advertisement of some company which was selling land or oil stock at a great bargain? If your father puts some money into a company of that kind, he is said to have bought stock. It is the finance department's business to see that worthless stock is not sold and to do a number of other things in connection with those companies. In other words, the department carries out what are known as the "Blue Sky" laws. This department is headed by a well paid commissioner appointed by the governor (his salary is \$5,000 per year). He has some twenty assistants and examiners. You have likely heard, during the last year, of some bank which was being examined by one of these examiners, had been closed because it was not obeying the banking laws.

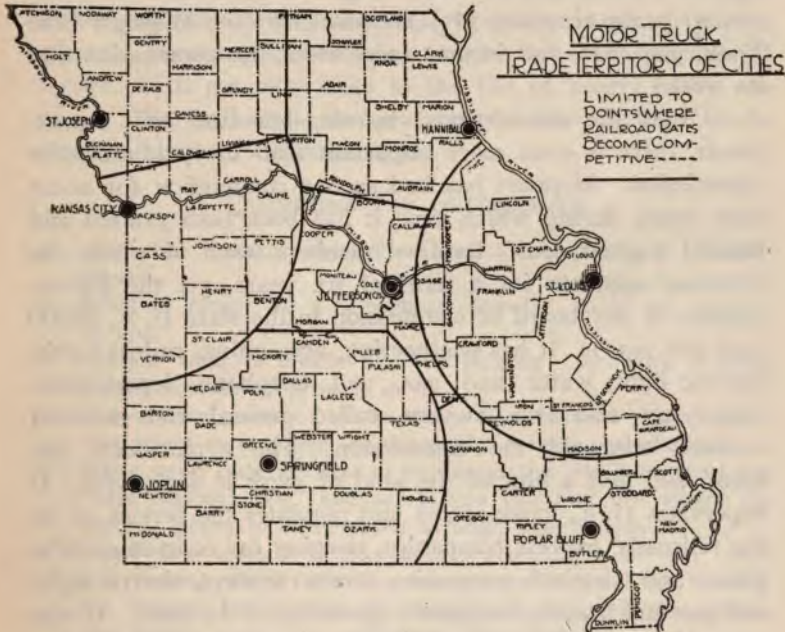
Another rather important board which deals with money matters, or finances, is the board of fund commissioners. This is an ex-officio board made up of the governor, treasurer, auditor, and attorney-general. You see, the state sold its bonds in order to get money to build its capitol building; that is, it gave a promise on a piece of paper that it would pay back the money it had borrowed, with interest. It will have to do the same in order to pay the \$15,000,000 soldier bonus and raise the \$60,000,000 with which to build roads in Missouri (The voters of the state voted in favor of two amendments to the constitution permitting the state government to sell its bonds for the amounts just mentioned). The selling of these bonds, payment of the interest, getting better

rates of interest, and many other things of this kind are looked after by this board. They have, indeed, some careful work ahead of them, for the handling of \$75,000,000 of the people's money is a big job.



So important is the spending of this money that we have both a soldier's bonus commission and a highway commission. There are three members of the bonus commission, the adjutant-general being ex-officio; the other two were appointed by the governor. The commission looks after the payment of the bonus. This is a case of our state not trying to pay the soldiers for what they did, but really trying to show them that the fine things they did are not forgotten.

The work of this commission should be over within a few months, but that of the highway commission will without doubt extend over many years. This commission is patterned after the state capitol commission which you will remember



was made up of four members appointed by the governor, two coming from each of the leading political parties. Like both the capitol and bonus commissions, the members of the highway commission are men of fine reputation and large experience. They have a great work ahead of them, for the new highway law, passed during the summer of 1921 in an extra session of the legislature, has mapped out a 7700 mile system of roads for our state. Aside from the \$60,000,000 to be furnished by the state to do this building, the United States government will no doubt put in many millions more.

The old highway commission had started and carried out a great deal of road building, and what it has done will be of help to the new board. The commission publishes a very interesting monthly pamphlet called "The Missouri Road Bulletin" which you could likely get for your school should you write the secretary at Jefferson City (see Missouri Blue Book, page 845, for further facts about the commission and its work).

Of all the commissions, boards, bureaus, and departments, there is none more important than the public service commission. Missouri has had such a commission for about nine years, during which time it has been both praised and blamed a great deal. Its five members, each of whom the governor appoints for a term of six years, get the highest salaries of any board or commission in the state (i. e., \$5500 each per year). It has engineering, accounting, railroad rate, electric light, water and gas, and telephone departments. There are also two lawyers, called general and assistant counsel, who aid the commission. The departments just mentioned give a hint of the kind of work it deals with. It supervises (i. e., looks after) and regulates the service of all the railroads, express companies, sleeping car companies, telephone and telegraph companies, street railways, electric light, and gas and heating companies operating in the state. It also says what rates or charges these companies shall make for their services. Of course these companies should be allowed to make a fair amount of money for what they are doing but no more, and it is the commission's business to see that both the companies and the public they serve are treated fairly.

For example, if a person thought that the electric light company furnishing his light was charging too much, he could complain to this commission and it would see whether or not this was true. It is a very easy matter to get a hearing, and although the commission handles many cases, it has kept up with its work. Should any kind of a company

spoken of above wish to sell bonds or stock, it must have the permission of the commission. Before giving permission, the commission looks into the matter carefully, so that any one buying the stock or bonds may be sure they are all right.

In this story of boards and commissions, we can begin to see that the state examines, regulates, inspects, guides, advises, encourages, protects, and in fact does dozens of things which get very close to the life of nearly every one of us. We shall see in the next chapter how the state works through numbers of institutions.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. What has brought about the need for boards and commissions?
2. What is meant by a bi-partisan board? Give an example of one.
3. Explain what is meant by "overlapping" of work. What would you do to prevent it?
4. If you were governor of the state, what kind of people would you select as members of the public service commission?
5. Write your state senator or representative for a copy of the "new highway law" and see if you can find out where the state is going to build roads through your county.
6. Name the various boards and organizations of our state government which help the farmer, the banker, the teacher, the lawyer, the dentist, the barber, the butcher, the grocer, the doctor, poor boys and girls who need help.
7. Do you think Missouri has too many boards and commissions? Give reasons for your answer.
8. Find out whether or not anyone from your county is a member of one of these boards or commissions or is employed by one of them. If so, ask the person to write you a letter telling about the work. Read the letter to your class.

CHAPTER VIII

STATE INSTITUTIONS

Did you ever stop to think in how many ways your state government protects and helps you? The executive, legislative, and judicial departments all do important work for you. So do political parties and the many boards and commissions. That is not all; most of the counties in the state get more money from the state to help keep their schools going than they actually pay in taxes to the state. Your county superintendent of schools could tell you how much money your very school district got from the state to help run your home school last year. Most of the people in your home community and in the whole state wish you to have both an elementary and high school education, and they don't want you to have to go away from home to get it. But not every community can have an institution to which you can go to get a four-year college education.

But every one of you, most of you, by going some distance, can get such an education right here in your own state, and, if you care to, you may get it at an institution which is kept running by the state government, for the legislature every two years appropriates several millions of dollars to support the University of Missouri at Columbia and the five Teachers Colleges at Kirksville, Warrensburg, Cape Girardeau, Springfield and Maryville. These schools are well named the "higher educational institutions." To the state university go thousands of young people every year who wish to be teachers, farmers, lawyers, journalists, doctors, engineers, or to study about nearly anything of importance that is done in the world. A student may not only go here to get what we call the "regular four years'" college education, but may stay from one to three years longer and do what is known as "graduate work." Each student pays to the uni-

versity some money, usually called fees, but this pays a very small amount of the expense which it costs to keep the school going.

Thousands also go to the several state Teachers Colleges each year. Each one of these gives also a four years' college education, but does not give any graduate work. They also charge their students fees, but, like the university, these amount to very little in keeping up the expense. The university and the five teachers colleges are now so working together that a student may graduate at one of the colleges and then go to the university and begin at once on graduate work. There are a number of good colleges in Missouri which the state does not support; they are called private institutions, but in most cases their fees are considerably higher than those of the state institutions. They help a great deal in furnishing a higher education, but so important is the higher education to every one in the state that it must be made as free as possible.

Since the state pays such large sums of money to keep the university and colleges running, you would expect some one to have control of these institutions for the state. So the university has a board of curators of nine members, appointed by the governor. These are appointed for six years, three of them going out every two years. They are paid nothing except their expenses. The whole board has a meeting every three months, and the executive board of three members meets every month. Each one of the teachers colleges has a board of regents of six members, appointed by the governor for six years (Two are appointed every two years). The state superintendent of schools is ex-officio the seventh member of each one of these teachers' college boards. While any one of these boards has the power to do a great many things, such as employing faculty members, planning and building buildings, they really seem to do little except elect the president of the school and then permit him to man-

age most of the affairs of the institution. In some states, like Kansas, they have just one board for all these institutions, and this board, among other things, hires a business man, called a purchasing agent, who buys the great many things which these institutions need, such as coal, furniture, and a hundred and one things needed by a big institution. Of course every dollar used by these institutions should be carefully spent, and it may be that the purchasing agent would save much money for Missouri.

Although there are thousands who attend these schools each year, the numbers will, no doubt, get much larger, especially as many more graduate from high schools. Just think a moment—there are more than 900,000 boys and girls in Missouri of school age; about 443,000 white boys, 427,000 white girls; 21,000 negro boys, 23,000 negro girls. There are over 9500 school districts in the state, about 700 of which have high schools. About \$22,000,000 was spent in keeping these schools going to 1921. The numbers of high schools and high school graduates are increasing rapidly each year. The fact is, in other states and in our own, that the more who graduate from high schools, the more who go to college. Every teacher should be a college graduate, and more and more of them are becoming such. Educating teachers alone means a great work for both the university and the teachers colleges. There are at present about 21,000 teachers in Missouri, but there are many thousands who wish a college education who never expect to teach. Our state government, though not furnishing as much money for its educational institutions as some of our neighboring states, believed strongly enough in these institutions to appropriate about \$3,450,000 a year for the last two years.

Of this amount about \$400,000 each year goes to Lincoln University at Jefferson City. This is a school to which negroes may go to get a college education. They also educate numbers of negro boys and girls who are still in both

elementary and high school work. We have noticed that there are about 44,000 negro boys and girls in Missouri of school age. Lincoln University not only gives these a chance to get a college education, but also gives a chance to many young colored people from other states, where there are few schools to which colored people can go. The school has a board of curators of the same number and who get their office in the same way as members of the board of regents of the teachers colleges.

Most of the students who go to our state educational institutions are strong and healthy; they have good eyes and ears. There are, however, quite a number of young people in Missouri who are either blind or deaf. The state government has arranged to give these an education, too. For the blind there is the Missouri School for the Blind at St. Louis. It is a boarding school running nine months of the year, and children come from all parts of the state. They must be under twenty-one years of age, have no disease which others can catch from them, and must have good enough bodies and minds so that they can be taught. Everything is free for these children except their traveling expenses and clothing. The school has a kindergarten, eight grades, and a four years' high school. The children study many of the same subjects which are taught in our public schools. They are taught, also, a number of things which help them to make their living once they leave the school—the girls, such things as knitting, sewing, cooking, basket-weaving, and rug-weaving; the boys, piano-tuning, broom-making, and chair-caning. The school has a board of five managers appointed by the governor.

Missouri's School for the Deaf at Fulton was founded several years before the Civil War. It also has a board of five managers appointed by the governor. All children in the state between the ages of seven and twenty-one and who are too deaf to be taught in the public schools can come to the school on about the same terms as they go to the school

for the blind. The children are taught the usual subjects in the eight grades. They are also taught things at which they can make their living after leaving the school—these are cooking, sewing, cabinet-making, tailoring, printing, shoe-repairing, harness-making, and barbering. The last legislature appropriated about \$350,000 to support this school for two years, and about \$100,000 less than that to support the school for the blind for the same length of time.

We thus see how Missouri helps thousands of its young people, both white and black, to get a college education through its state university, its five teachers colleges, and Lincoln University; how those, too, who never see the light of day or hear the wild bird's song learn many useful things so that they cannot only be happier but have a good way to make their living. These institutions are for the youth of our state whose minds are active and growing, and most of them will not only be able to make their own living throughout life, but will become leaders and should be the best citizens in the state. But there are thousands of people in the state who are so weakened in mind or body that they cannot make their own living, be happy, or even useful to others. Those for whom we feel more sorry than any others are persons whose minds are weakened, the insane and feeble-minded.

The state helps take care of many of these unfortunate people in its four state hospitals for the insane, at Fulton, St. Joseph, Nevada, and Farmington, and in the Colony for Feeble-Minded and Epileptic at Marshall. All these institutions, together with the Missouri State Sanatorium at Mt. Vernon (an institution for the treatment of tuberculosis in its earlier stages), are called eleemosynary institutions. They are all under the control of one board, three of whom must come from the party casting the highest number of votes and three from the party casting the next highest number of *votes at the last general election*. The governor appoints the

six, naming one as president who receives a considerable salary and spends his whole time at the work. The board appoints a health supervisor who becomes, when appointed, an ex-officio member of the board and the supervisor and director of the manner of treatment of the patients in the several institutions. This health officer is, as he should be, one of the highest salaried officers in the state. He gets \$7,000 per year. The other members of the board are "one dollar a year" men, but, while at work for the state, they get \$5.00 per day and expenses.

You see the board of managers are half Republicans and half Democrats; three of the six superintendents are Democrats and three Republicans. The intention in putting these six institutions under one board was to take them out of politics. This is as it should be; party politics plays little part in our educational institutions and the same should be true in our eleemosynary institutions. The board with its group of officers and helpers at each institution has a big work to do in looking after all the patients—there are over 5,000 in the four hospitals for the insane. Many more people should be in the colony at Marshall, but it is crowded full; the same can be said of the sanatorium at Mt. Vernon. In these institutions, the state should use every means possible to cure the clouded minds and wrecked bodies, and do it even though the cost is great.

The state could well afford to use even more money in trying to find out how to keep people from becoming insane or from getting tuberculosis. But the business end, as we call it, in these institutions should be looked after carefully, just as it should be in our educational institutions. Not a dollar should be wasted, even though the legislature has appropriated for these six institutions, for the years 1921 and 1922, over \$1,000,000. One of the fine business men on the board of managers was heard to remark a few months ago that by buying carefully and for all the institutions at once,

they would save thousands of dollars for the year 1921 (For many more facts on these six institutions, see Missouri Blue Book 1921-1922, page 789 following).

Did you ever see walking along the road or street a man bent by the years and maybe crippled because of wounds received during the Civil War? Some of these are poor and unable longer to take care of themselves or their wives. Your state has two institutions to help these old soldiers and their wives; one for those of the North, called the Federal Soldiers' Home (at St. James); the other for those of the South, called the Confederate Home of Missouri (at Higginsville). Both are eleemosynary institutions, but each has a separate board of its own. There are about 250 men and women in each one of these homes. Each has a superintendent with helpers who, no doubt, do everything they can to make life, in its closing days, comfortable for both those who wore the blue and the gray. The state has not been stingy in its appropriations for these homes, each one getting about \$85,000 a year for the years 1921 and 1922 (see Missouri Blue Book, pages 803-806 for many other facts).

Missouri not only helps thousands of its youth get a college education, sees that the blind and the deaf are cared for and educated, that the insane and feeble-minded are kept from harming themselves and others, and cured if possible, that old soldiers and their wives are kept from want and starvation, but it says to those who would steal, kill, and do all sorts of things which are wrong, "You can't do this; we will put you where you can't go about among people who wish not to do harm to others or be harmed." So Missouri has, like every other state, what are known as "Penal Institutions."

There are four of these, the State Penitentiary, Jefferson City; the Missouri Reformatory, Boonville; the Industrial Home for Girls, Chillicothe; the Industrial Home for Negro Girls, Tipton. All of these are under the control of

a commission of five members, who are appointed by the governor for four years and may be removed at any time he sees fit. Not more than three can be of the same political party. The governor names one as director, who is the chairman of the board, and may name one as commissioner of industries, one as warden, another as farm commissioner, and still another as parole commissioner. Each one receives a fairly good salary, and must spend all his time on the work of the commission. Most of the time of the whole commission is spent at the penitentiary, each one of the other institutions being under the direct management of a superintendent.

Like the board of managers of the eleemosynary institutions, the penal commission has, not to speak of other things, a great business to carry on in buying and in the careful use of supplies for the four institutions. Not a dollar should be wasted, even though we find the legislature has appropriated for the last two years nearly \$750,000 to these institutions (does not include the penitentiary, which is self-supporting). The proper direction, care, and attempted reform of the many hundreds of prisoners in the penitentiary all require careful thinking and planning. It would seem the sensible thing to have one person on the commission, at least, who had made a close study of criminals and their care. It is the governor's duty to see that the commission does its work well, for he may remove any one or all of them at any time; he, therefore, is responsible.

Were you to make a visit to the penitentiary, you would see many buildings entirely surrounded by high, thick stone walls. Some of the buildings are factories in which a part of the prisoners work at various trades. Others are huge cell buildings where the prisoners are kept locked up while not at work. A good-sized farm is now used by the state and here many of the prisoners do useful outdoor work. This same idea of keeping busy and doing something useful

is carried out at the reformatory for boys at Boonville, where the state owns 640 acres of land. The more than 600 boys in this institution may not only work on this large farm, but may also learn, in the words of their superintendent, plumbing, steamfitting, electric wiring, boiler firing, refrigeration and ice manufacturing, brick making, cement work, patching, tailoring, band music, laundering, cooking, table waiting, painting, blacksmithing, gardening, orcharding, dairying, baking, flower culture, printing, shorthand, typewriting, and carpentering. Eight grades of school work are done, the way of doing it being copied after a boy's military school. This accounts for a number of teachers in the institution being called captain or assistant captain. The boys in the reformatory are supposed to be under seventeen years of age. They are sent there by the several circuit judges for having committed some crime. The idea is to reform them and make out of them useful citizens.

The industrial home for girls at Chillicothe has the same idea in mind. Girls between the ages of seven and twenty-one who have committed some crime, cannot be controlled by their parents, or who have bad associates, may be sent here by a circuit judge. Eight grades of school work are given. There is a business course for high school girls. The girls are taught cooking, sewing, and may study music. The home has a small farm which is used to help teach dairying, gardening, and poultry raising. About one year ago there were nearly 250 girls in this institution.

The industrial home for negro girls at Tipton carries on its work in a way similar to that of the home for white girls at Chillicothe. There are nearly 200 girls in this home, and the superintendent says that in the next two years she hopes to make the home self-supporting.

Before we talk over some of the important problems your state government has to work out, it is well to stop and think of its growth, its 3,500,000 people going about their

regular work, millions on the farms, thousands in shops, mines, stores, factories, banks, schools, churches on Sunday, living side by side, traveling and talking together, their relation getting closer all the time as automobiles and telephones come more and more into use. All of us need protection and help such as we can get only by working together (co-operation is a good term to use) through a useful constitution, executive, legislative, and judicial departments, political parties, boards and commissions, state institutions. Each and every one of these is a part of our state government set going and kept running to protect us and serve needs which we either all have in common or large numbers of us have.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Write down the name of each state institution in this chapter and see if you classify each one under one of three heads. Name these three heads.
2. Give several reasons why every boy and girl in the state should have a good elementary school and four years' high school near his own home.
3. Give reasons for all the state institutions having one purchasing agent.
4. Mention two or three things which the state might do to keep boys and girls from going wrong so that they have to be taken to penal institutions.
5. Should the purpose of penal institutions be to reform or punish or both?
6. Ask several people in your neighborhood if they know how much money it takes each year to keep our state institutions running. Be sure you know yourself, and answer your own question for them if they wish it answered by you.

CHAPTER IX

SOME IMPORTANT PROBLEMS OF STATE GOVERNMENT

Our state government, in protecting and helping people, has no more important problem to solve than to arrange it so that every boy and girl in the state, rich and poor alike, has a chance to attend a good school for at least twelve years, that is, until he or she has graduated from a four years' high school. As matters stand now, there are thousands upon thousands of boys and girls who never have this chance. The legislature at its regular session, 1921, passed a law, the county unit act, which intends to give this chance. It has been held up by referendum petitions, so the voters vote in November, 1922, on whether they will accept this law. If they accept it, and the legislature makes a few changes in it so that it can go into operation, then these boys and girls will have a chance, that is, the boys and girls in the country will begin to have an equal educational opportunity with those in the towns and cities.

Governor Hyde took a leading part in getting this law passed. His special message of February 15, 1921, is so clear on this matter that no doubt you will be interested in reading it.

"We strive for a greater Missouri. Most of all, we dream of a greater people, happier, more prosperous—a generation better morally, socially, economically than this one.

"Our dream is not impossible. It lies with this legislature to lay the foundations upon which it may be ultimately realized. The corner stone of progress is an efficient school system.

"The difficulty lies not so much in our town and city schools. In general the schools of the cities are efficient,

and well supported. The teachers employed are generally competent, and not so grossly underpaid. The terms of school are reasonably long, the buildings good, the courses of study are well planned, high schools are accessible. In the country, terms are short, buildings only fair, courses of study offered are scant, teachers underpaid; high schools inaccessible. In the city, schools are crowded; in the country, only half attended.

"There are in the state a total of 9486 school districts. There are about 650 high schools. These are situated almost exclusively in the towns and cities, leaving 8836 country school districts, or an average of nearly eighty per county. Of these districts, 852 have an assessed value so low that their maximum levy will give them \$165 or less per annum for school purposes; 868 districts can levy as a maximum \$260 per year, and 3791 districts have a maximum of \$500 per year.

"There are 897 districts with an enrollment of less than 15 school children; 3066 with an enrollment of less than 26; 6220 with 40 or less. There are 6067 schools with an average of 25 or less.

"The average number of days of school in the city is 171.3; in the country 121.4 or 49.9 less per year. Of the 696 districts holding more than eight months, practically all are in the city. Of the 8790 schools holding eight months or less, practically all are in the country.

"Nevertheless the problem is not one of antagonism of country against city. The interests of country and town are identical, and they will inevitably and at last analysis advance or retrograde together.

"The county unit bill drags no school down. It tends to lift all schools up. It makes the county the unit of school administration just as it is now the unit in civil administration. It affords a taxable property basis, wide enough to support not only efficient grade schools, but high schools as

well, and this without becoming burdensome to the taxpayers. Enlarged districts will furnish students enough to make the schools worth while. Transportation will make the schools accessible to all children within the district.

"Transportation of children from a district to a central school will not prove as expensive as maintaining the inefficient school. Such transportation will also prove a great aid and stimulus to good road building. And after all is said, the fact will still remain that good schools and good roads will go forward together. We shall plan later for good roads, let us now make the start by enacting the bill for better schools."

So the legislature and the governor have suggested a way of solving a great problem, and we shall see, in November, 1922, whether or not the voters will accept the suggestion. There are other educational problems in Missouri to be solved, but the questions bound up in the county unit act are the most important.

You will notice that the governor says "good schools and good roads will go forward together." Since he wrote this message a road law has been passed, with which most people seem to be satisfied; but the carrying out of this law and the building of thousands of miles of more roads will raise many problems for years to come. In striving for a greater Missouri, we will all need to cooperate with our state highway commission and help them, in our own way, to build such roads, reaching into and through every county in the state, so that we can, with automobiles, go and come freely at all seasons of the year. And we can help them by trying to find out how they do this work, what problems they have to solve, and by telling everybody who grumbles about the great sums of money being spent on all-the-year-around roads what a big thing it will be for Missouri. The building of 7700 miles of permanent roads in Missouri, if it is done well, *and we have no reason to think that it will not be done well,*

will not only mean that thousands of more people will be able to get to market with their products and that thousands more will be able to go to high schools and colleges, but it will mean, too, that thousands of miles of good roads will be built to connect with these 7700 miles.

The state highway department, through its secretary, has been kind enough to lend us the cuts for the two maps which are shown in this chapter. The one shows about where the 7700 miles of state roads will run when finished. The other shows how the trade territory of several cities will be made larger through the use of the motor truck. It is generally held that goods can be hauled on motor trucks over hard surfaced roads (a distance of 100 to 125 miles) cheaper than they can be hauled by the railroads. Good roads, therefore, should help make cheaper many things we buy. It would be interesting for you to take these two maps together and try to figure out how far you are from your nearest trade center, from your nearest college center, the state capitol, some friend or relative in a distant part of the state, and then find out how much it would cost you to go to each one of these places by railroad or by automobile.


There are many other problems for our state government to help solve, such as how to care for neglected children; what to do to prevent insanity; how to develop the water power and our forests; how to keep our minerals from being wasted—but we have space to discuss only one more problem, that of raising and spending money.

Every government must have money to pay its expenses. It takes millions of dollars each year to keep the departments, boards and commissions, state institutions, and schools running. Of course there are many people, who give valuable time in helping the state government who get either nothing or their bare expenses; but in most cases the state government, like any other government or a person, has to pay for what it gets done. To do this it must have an in-

come, or as it is often called, *revenue*. Most of this income comes from taxes, fees, special assessments and loans, that is, money borrowed by the government. Professor Isidor Loeb, in his little book on "Government in Missouri," has written so clearly about *revenue* that we are going to quote some of his paragraphs.

"A tax is that which the government compels people to pay for its support. We have seen that the government exists for the benefit of the people. It protects them and does many other things in their interests. As it cannot exist without money, any one should be just as willing to pay his taxes as he is to meet a part of the expenses of his family, society, or church. The members of a family who cannot or do not work may become paupers and thus destroy the family and society. If a government could not raise money by taxes, it would become bankrupt; that is, unable to pay its debts. In a ball club, if a boy does not pay his share of the expense, he may be put out of the club. In the same way, if one does not wish to pay his taxes, he may leave the state and take his property with him. If he continues to live in the state or has property in it, he owes it the duty of paying taxes. As it would not be just to those who are willing to pay their taxes if others did not pay, the government has the power to compel payment and, if necessary, to sell the property of a person for that purpose.

"We may agree that members of the state should pay taxes, but we must also answer the question of how much should be paid by each tax-payer. In a ball club, each one pays the same membership fee. On the other hand, in the family each member does as much as he can, and in a church members are supposed to give what they can afford. In some cases a tax is the same for all persons. This is called a poll tax, meaning a tax of an equal amount for each head, or person. As some men are much better able to pay than others, a poll tax is not fair or just."



Most people think that a person should pay taxes according to the amount of property he has, or the income he receives. The tax by which Missouri raises more money than in any other one way is that on property, usually called the general property tax. This brought into the state treasury in 1920 nearly \$4,970,000. This is the kind of tax used by school districts, cities, and counties. If you will turn back to the chapter on Boards and Commissions (in connection with the state tax commission and the state board of equalization), you will find the story of how property is assessed and how the rate is fixed.

Another important way the state has of raising revenue is through a tax on incomes. Just as in the case of the general property tax, the state legislature says what incomes shall be taxed and also fixes the rates. The state income tax for 1920 amounted to nearly \$3,280,000.

Missouri also has a tax which it levies on organizations called corporations, named corporation franchise tax. This brought into the state treasury in 1920 about \$2,380,000. Our state also has a tax it places on property which is left by persons at their death called an inheritance tax. This brought into the state treasury in 1920 about \$1,472,000. The state raises money in a number of other ways, but the general property tax, tax on incomes, corporation franchise tax, and the inheritance tax are the chief means. The entire income, or revenue, for the two years beginning January 1, 1919, and ending December 31, 1920, was \$24,526,762.95, or an average of over \$12,250,000 each year (The state auditor publishes a report every two years, and these figures are taken from his report for 1919, 1920—find an interesting set of figures pages 7, 8, 9).

If you looked over these figures, you would find a number of items similar to this, "to receipts from fees, oil inspection 1920, \$59,317.86." "A fee is a payment made by a person for some act done for him by a public official. Thus

when a deed to property is recorded or a marriage license is issued, the recorder collects a fee for it—Many of the state officials are paid fees for special acts which they perform, but these fees are turned into the state treasury.

"In the case of officials and boards having to do with the inspection of mines, factories, banks and other corporations, and the examining and licensing of persons to engage in certain professions and occupations, the fees charged are sufficient to pay the salaries of the officials and all the expense of their offices.

"A government pays most of its expenses out of its revenue from taxes. In some cases it does things which are of special benefit to a group of persons, and makes these persons pay the cost in proportion to the benefit each has received from the improvement made by the government. This amount which each must pay is called a special assessment, or special tax. This method is used a great deal in cities in paving streets and sidewalks, and in building sewers. The city may pay the cost of these improvements out of its general income from taxes, but as these improvements increase the value of the property along which they are made, it is usual to issue special tax bills against such property for the cost of the improvement. Special assessments are not generally used by the state or county, though in some cases they are used for improving county roads or draining swamp lands" (Loeb, *Government in Missouri*, pages 111, 112).

We have noticed, in the chapter on boards and commissions, how the state government may borrow money and issue its bonds with a promise to pay back the loan with interest. It was necessary for Missouri to borrow money this way to build the state capitol. It will be necessary to do the same thing in paying the soldiers' bonus and in building roads. "All divisions of government—state, county, township, school, city, village, and in some cases road districts—must levy taxes for support. It would cause much trouble

to the taxpayers and be of great expense to the government if taxes for each purpose had to be paid to a separate collector. Hence in general there are only two classes of collectors, the city collector and county collector (where a county has township organization, there is no county collector; each township has a collector).

"City taxes are paid to the city collector, but all other taxes for local purposes (county, school, etc.) and nearly all taxes for state purposes are—paid to the county collector.—Taxes must be paid not later than the first day of January. If not paid by that time they are said to be delinquent, and five per cent interest is charged on the amount of such taxes for the first month or part of month they remain unpaid after that date, and one per cent per month for every month after the first. The state holds a man's property as security for his taxes. The collector can bring suit in a court against persons whose taxes are delinquent, and the judgment may be enforced by the sale of enough of his property to pay the taxes.

"As we have seen, there is a state treasurer, and there are also treasurers for the different kinds of local government. The city collector pays over all taxes which he has collected to the city treasurer. The county collector pays over county taxes to the county treasurer, school taxes to the treasurer of the district, and state taxes to the state treasurer. It is the duty of the treasurers to keep the money in banks which have agreed to pay interest on the same. The money is to be paid out only when a proper warrant, or order, is presented. All classes of treasurers must give bonds as security for the public money in their control.

"Money which has been paid into the treasury cannot be paid out until it has been appropriated; that is, set aside to meet certain expenses. The legislature makes appropriations of the money belonging to the state, while the county court, city council, and board of education do the same for the money of the county, city, and school district.

"Legislative bodies make appropriations but the expenditures are made by the executive officials. It is necessary that some one should see that these expenditures are made as provided by the legislature and that prices charged the government are not too high. Hence accounts against the state go to the state auditor, and if he approves of them he issues the warrants for their payment out of the state treasury. In local governments, the clerks usually issue such warrants upon the order of the county courts, city councils, etc., for the payment of money out of the local treasuries.

"It is also necessary to keep a check upon collectors and treasurers who handle public money. This is done by means of bookkeeping in the office of the state auditor. Accounts are kept with county collectors and the state treasurer. Similar accounts are kept by the county and city clerks or comptrollers for local collectors and treasurers." (Loeb, *Government in Missouri*, pages 109, 114, 115).

We thus see that taxes are levied, collected; the money is appropriated and paid out. A much more careful study than is now given should be made of all the needs of the state, so that the government and people would know what rates of taxes to levy. This in turn would help the legislature in knowing to whom to make the appropriations and in what amounts. That much more care should be given to the way the money is spent is also true.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Count up the number of boys and girls in your community, or some other, who would like to go to high school but have not the chance.
2. Show how the building of better roads will increase the number who go to school.
3. How many school districts are there in your county? How many should there be?

4. Draw a map showing the location of the state roads which run through your county. On which one is there the more travel?
5. Ask your father to show you his tax receipts, and get him to tell you what the rates, for the different communities to which he pays taxes, are.
6. What is meant by the words: assessment, bond, levy, rate, revenue, expenditure, fees?

PART II

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER X

RURAL GOVERNMENT

It would be a very hard thing for any of us to picture in our mind the nearly 70,000 square miles of land and water in Missouri and the 3,400,000 people who live on this land; few of us will get to see very many of the men who are members of our constitutional convention, and even fewer will get to see this convention at work; not many of us get to see the governor, other state officials, members of boards and commissions, the state legislature, the three courts of appeals and the supreme court as they do their work; only a few, too, will get to see the members of the county congressional and state party committees, the sub-national convention, the state and national conventions, as they assemble together; it may be that more of us will get to visit one or more of the state institutions, and all of us can do our part in helping work out the problems of our schools, roads, and the getting and spending of money.

And there is not a one of us, either, who could not get the chance every day to talk to a member of the school board. It is very likely, too, that you who live in the open country know every person in your school district. As has been said, these districts will average about eighty to the county. Many of these districts are so small that in the level country you can stand at some one place in the district and see all the land and farm houses in it. These districts, known as *common school districts*, are the smallest units of local government in Missouri; that is, they have in them less territory and fewer people than any other except some towns and

villages. These common school districts are so small that most of the children can walk to school, but often the worth of the land and other property is so small that not enough taxes can be gotten to have a good school.

In order to have better schools, a number of common school districts may go together and form what is known as a consolidated district. This kind of a district can have more money for its school, and, therefore, have not only better work in the grades, but also a high school. Some of these districts are so large that not all the children can walk, but the school board of such a district may give those, living more than a half mile from the school house, free transportation, if two-thirds of the voters (voting at an election) of the district agree to it. Any village, town or city school district having less than 200 children of school age may become a part of a consolidated district. In 1921 there were about 200 consolidated districts in Missouri, the number having grown very rapidly during that year. Of course, in nearly any town or city district there are more people and more property than in any common school district, so these districts may have better schools if they so choose.

Now, if you live in one of these common or consolidated school districts, you know something of its government. Did you ever notice the voters in the common school district, meeting on the first Tuesday in April? They meet at the school house, and while they are meeting the school is dismissed. When they meet next April, ask your parents if you can stay and see what they do. You will find them electing a member of the board of directors, deciding on what shall be the rate of school tax, and how long the term of school shall be. Quite often, too, they will talk over how much coal or wood the directors had better buy for the next year. This coming together of the voters is called the annual school meeting. They do not have such meetings in the town, city, and consolidated districts.

The government of the school or schools in any district, except that part looked after by the teachers and pupils, is in the hands of a board of education or board of directors, who are elected (except in the three largest cities) for terms of three years. In common school districts there are three members on the board, one being elected each year; in most of the other districts, six, two being elected each year. These boards choose the teachers, look after the buildings and grounds, buy things needed for the school, and may, each year, levy a tax of not more than 40 cents on the \$100 valuation on all taxable property in the district, and do many other things which need to be done.

In any of these school districts where both the people and the board are wide awake, interested, and wish good schools, the every day work of the schools is made much easier for the teachers, who are really the head of the government of the schools. And did you ever wonder who gave your teachers the right to govern and teach you? You see, not just any one can act as your dentist or your doctor. Not just any one can act as your teacher. A teacher must have a certificate, or license to teach. Teachers may take examinations, given by the state or county superintendent, to get certificates, or they may do certain work in the state teachers colleges or the state university and in this way get them.

You will notice that the voters, school board, teacher, and pupils all have a part in running the schools. In the larger school districts, usually in the cities, there is one who is not only the leader in managing the school for the board of education but helps and guides or supervises the other teachers. This person is usually called a superintendent. In the common school district the teacher should also have some one to supervise her, and also help govern the school. For this purpose each county has a superintendent of public schools. But, since the schools are scattered all over the county, this superintendent cannot get around to each school

as often as the city superintendent does. Not only does the county superintendent give examinations to teachers and supervise their work, but he calls all the school boards of the county together in one meeting each year, holds teachers' meetings, and these gatherings have discussions on school matters. The county superintendent is also president of the county school text-book commission, on which there are two other members, one appointed by the county court and another by the state superintendent of schools. This commission selects or adopts all the text-books which are used in the common school districts.

The common schools are supervised somewhat and advised considerably by the state superintendent of schools, especially through his three rural school inspectors. He is all the time giving the teachers and school board needed advice and information about their work. Although he is elected by the voters of the whole state every four years and does much work in his office at Jefferson City, so closely does he come to our local government in the school districts that we can easily think of him as a part of that government. The money which is appropriated by the legislature to the schools of the state he looks after and distributes to the several counties, the amount he sends to each county depending on the number of days all pupils have gone to school during the year. This usually means several thousands of dollars for each county, since the legislature always appropriates one-third of the ordinary revenue for the public schools (ordinary revenue does not include automobile license fees).

The money which it takes to run the schools in the several thousand districts in the state comes mostly from the taxes levied on each district and from the appropriations of the legislature, but some money is also gotten from what are known as permanent school funds, the interest from which can be used. There are four of these kinds of funds, (1)

the state public school fund, which is under the control of the state board of education and amounts to \$3,159,000 (this fund came from the sale of lands given to the state by the national government, and from some other sources); (2) the county public school fund, belonging to each county, which comes mostly from fines collected in each county, amounting now to \$9,270,348 and getting larger all the time; (3) the township school funds, coming from the land (one section in each congressional township) given to the state for the use of the public schools by the national government, amounting to \$2,394,646 (the county court loans out and has charge of both the county and township funds); (4) some districts have special funds coming from gifts and some other sources (these amount to \$113,758).

So you see that in the rural school districts with their voters, boards and teachers, county superintendents and state superintendent assisting, money coming from several sources, should really be and sometimes are the best kinds of local rural government. As the districts consolidate and grow larger, the school house may not only be the place to hold Sunday School, religious services and entertainments, but may also be the place to vote and hold political gatherings—in other words, the school district may become the most interesting and valuable unit of local rural government.

Now there is another kind of unit of local rural government which has more land within it and usually more people than we find in the rural school district. This is the township. There are two kinds of townships which are units of local government, the municipal and the incorporated (there are congressional townships covering all of Missouri, but they were laid out by the national government in surveying the land, and so are not units of local government).

The municipal township (not really a good name because municipal suggests city government) is not a very important unit of local government, but, nevertheless, more than three-

fourths of the counties in Missouri have it. The county court of these counties lays out these townships and may change their boundaries when they see fit. The voters in each one of the townships choose at least two justices of the peace every four years and at least one constable for a term of two years. In chapter V we told about the duties of these officials. This kind of a township is used as a sub-division of the county for elections. In fact the municipal township is made for the convenience of the county government rather than for purposes of local self-government. It has no property of its own, could not buy and sell anything, and does nothing just for itself.

But there is a more important kind of township in less than one-fourth of the counties in Missouri, and any county may have such if a majority of the voters voting at a general election vote to have it. This is called the incorporated township, and any county having such is said to be "under township organization." Such a township can buy and sell property and do things just for itself. The county court cannot change the boundaries of incorporated townships without the consent of two-thirds of the voters of the townships concerned.

"The incorporated township has more officials than the municipal township. In addition to the justices of the peace and constable, there are: a township trustee, who is also treasurer; a township board of directors consisting of the township trustee and two other members; a clerk, who is also assessor; and a collector (the same person may be elected justice of the peace and member of the board of directors, and the same person may be elected constable and collector). All the township officials are elected for a term of two years. A county having township organization does not elect a county assessor or county collector as their duties are performed by township officers. The township board of directors has the same general powers over township affairs

as the county court has over affairs of the county. For example, the township board divides the township into road districts and appoints the road overseer for each district." (Loeb, Government in Missouri, page 48).

You can see that in the school districts and incorporated townships the people can do many things just as they wish. That is one of the biggest reasons for having local self government. Not every community will wish to do things in the same way or have the same things done. Just how a community should keep up most of its roads is a matter for this community to decide, but, should a state road run through this community, that is a matter of concern to the whole state, and therefore of the state government. Hence there are certain things (called local) which the local government should look after and certain things (called general) which the state government should look after.

The largest unit of local rural government, both in territory and population, is the county. Missouri only had 25 counties when she became a state in 1821. There are now 114 counties and the city of St. Louis besides. We noticed in chapter I that there were 600 square miles in the average sized Missouri county. The largest county, Texas, has 1145 square miles; the smallest, Worth, has 270. The boundaries of each county, in the first place, were fixed by the state legislature and they cannot be changed, except by a majority of the voters of each county concerned, voting on the question, being for the change. Each county has what is known as the county seat, or we may call it the capital of the county. At this place is usually the county court house, containing the offices of the several county officials, circuit court, county court, and grand jury rooms, and sometimes a rest room for women. Some of the court houses are beautiful and well kept, others have a tumbled down look and are poorly kept. Each county seat usually has a jail where pris-

oners are either kept for trial or are serving a sentence as a punishment.

There is hardly a family in the county which will not have some business at the court house during the year. It may be to attend a trial, such as we have noticed in chapter V, to pay taxes, attend a farmers' meeting, a school board or teachers' convention, a party convention or mass meeting, have a road changed or a new one planned, help get aid from the county court for some poor person, or many another matter having to do with the government of the county.

The legislature of the state, through its laws, says how many officials the counties shall have, how they shall be chosen, and how long they shall hold office when chosen. It says, too, what their powers shall be, and no county official is supposed to exercise any power which is not given to him by the legislature.

Every county in the state has the following officials: a county court made up of three members; a probate judge; clerk of the circuit court; clerk of the county court; recorder of deeds (in 35 counties the same person is both recorder and circuit clerk); prosecuting attorney; sheriff; treasurer; coroner; public administrator; and superintendent of public schools. Each county has an assessor and collector except the twenty-four which have township organizations. Each, except a very few, has also a highway engineer, the office being combined in some counties with that of the surveyor. These thirteen to seventeen officials in each county, together with the circuit judge and juries, carry on most of the work of its government.

They are all elected by the voters of the county except the high-way engineer, who is appointed by the county court. Each is chosen for a term of four years except two members of the county court, the prosecuting attorney (each one of these has a two years' term) and the highway engineer (no fixed term to serve, is left to county court). When Missouri

first became a state all county officials were appointed by the governor, but now he appoints only in case the office falls vacant, the person he appoints holding office only until the next county election. You might think that a number of these officials, like the county collector, sheriff and prosecuting attorney, who do important work for the state government would be controlled by that government, but such is not the case, and so the government of both state and county is carried on quite differently in the several counties. Most of the officers never get to serve more than two terms, for a majority of the voters usually think the offices should be "passed around" and the law does not permit the sheriff to be reelected to take his own place, that is he cannot succeed himself. The county officers are paid for what they do, either by fees or a salary or by both. Most of them are paid by fees.

The most important part of the government of the county is the county court. There are three persons on this court; one being called the presiding judge, the other two, associate judges. The presiding judge is chosen by the voters of the entire county. For the purpose of electing the associate judges, the county is divided into two districts, and one judge is elected from each district. The intention of this division is to keep all the judges from coming from one part of the county.

The name "county court" is not a good one. As you know, the word "court" makes one think of a body which settles disputes and tells people what the law is. The county court does very little of this kind of work (however it used to do considerable judicial work; hence its name). It is largely its business to carry out laws which the legislature has made, so it is really an executive or administrative body, and in some states goes by the name of board of county commissioners. But the county court has a great many things to do. Within limits made by the constitution and the laws, it

fixes the tax rate for the county; its members are on the county board of equalization; it says how most of the county money can be spent and in what amounts; it says in what banks the county money shall be placed and how much interest banks shall pay on this money; it has charge, in most counties, of roads and bridges, appointing the county highway engineer and road overseers, opening up and closing roads; it looks after the building of county buildings (the court house and jail are examples) and sees they are taken care of when once built; it looks after the poor by keeping a few of them at what is known as the county "poor farm" and by paying to many more a few dollars each every month; it sends or commits people to the state hospitals for the insane; it also chooses grand and petit juries, election judges, gives the right to persons to operate pool halls, hold a carnival, and does many other things which we haven't the space to mention.

The county court usually meets in its own room at the court house, but sometimes it uses either the circuit court room or the county clerk's office. Most county court rooms are rectangular in shape and so arranged that they will seat from 75 to 100 people. Frequently the judges and clerk (presiding judge in the center) sit on a raised platform railed off from those who have business with the court, but just as frequently they sit, in no set order, around a table which stands in the open room. Sometimes they are called together by the sheriff, who will say in a loud voice, "Oh, yes! Oh, yes! the county court is now in session." But more frequently business is begun much as if one farmer were calling on another to have a friendly talk. Not very often do you hear some one say to them "if it please your honors."

In carrying on the business with people who come before them, it is generally the idea of "the first who comes is the first served." This does not mean, however, that the court will finish its business with the first who comes without tak-

ing up business with some one else. It is very common to see a person ask the judges for help, and, before there is time for an answer, another will present a road petition and still another will ask that a bill which the county owes him be paid. Frequently, too, a judge will consider one of these matters without any heed as to what another judge is considering at the same time. Some people grumble about how unbusinesslike the judges are, but their way of doing makes nearly every one feel at ease. Most of the judges are farmers, and, since most of the people who have business with them are usually farmers, they seem to all understand each other very well and so little complaint is heard of the way they do their work.

The clerk of the county court usually has a great deal to do with carrying on its work. In the court room he is generally seated either along side or directly in front of the judges. To him come most of the papers which are presented to the court, especially demands for money. The better clerks nearly always look over these demands very carefully, and sometimes arrange them in good order for the court. Sometimes these papers are passed from the clerk to each one of the judges in turn, and nearly always at least one judge will look over the demands. When any demand is called in question, the clerk usually knows more about it than any of the judges, and what he thinks should be done the judges quite often do. They not only pay attention to the clerk while in the court room, but will often instruct him to do certain things for them such as issuing licenses and sending persons to hospitals for the insane. Of course the clerk keeps a record of what the court does, but these records are not usually very interesting to read. It is much more interesting to sit in the court room and hear the conversations. Most of these never go into the records; usually only the orders or what are known as the official acts of court go into the records. The clerk has many other things to do,

such as copying the assessor's book for the collector, getting ballots ready for primaries and elections, and issuing hunters' licenses.

We have spoken somewhat of the work of the prosecuting attorney, circuit clerk, and sheriff in chapter V, but a few words more is not out of place here. The prosecuting attorney and sheriff have more to do with seeing that the laws are obeyed within the county than all the other county officials put together. If they do not work together, those who do not wish to obey the law will either escape arrest on the part of the sheriff or prosecution on the part of the attorney. In counties where these two officials work hand in hand to see that people obey the laws, you will frequently see or hear of their going out together, the prosecuting attorney saying whether or not the law is being broken and the sheriff making arrests if it is. The work of these two officials has been especially prominent for years in connection with the enforcement of the liquor laws.

The work of the assessor and collector has been spoken of in chapters VII and IX. It is the duty of the county treasurer to receive, from the county collector and other sources, all money due the county, keep this money and pay it out when ordered to do so by the county court. Both the county clerk and treasurer keep a record of all money received and paid out. The clerk, therefore, has what is known as a "check" on the treasurer. The treasurer, in the course of a year, will handle a great deal of money. In order to be sure that it is handled safely, he has to give a bond.

Two county officers whose work is very closely connected are the probate judge and public administrator. Their main duty is looking after the property of persons who have died. One may make a written statement, or will, naming the persons to whom his property will go after his death and also say in that will who shall carry out his wishes, or, as is

usually said, appoint an executor. If a person dies without a will, there are laws which say where the property shall go. In such a case as this, the probate court appoints a person called an administrator, who looks after the property until it is divided up among the relatives. If the dead person has any relatives who are capable of serving, the probate judge must appoint one of these as administrator. If not, the public administrator has control of the property. If disputes arise over a will or rights to the property of the deceased, the probate judge decides them. The probate judge also appoints guardians, that is, persons who look after children under age (that is, minors) who have no one to protect them. He also appoints guardians for the insane when they have property which needs looking after.

Another county officer is the coroner. Long ago, in England, this office was closely connected with that of the sheriff. The only connection they have now in Missouri is that if the sheriff cannot perform his work, the coroner is to take his place. The main work of the coroner is that of inquiry into cases of death supposed to have been caused by another person or persons. In these cases the coroner calls together a jury of six persons to find out, if possible, who caused the death. If they think a crime has been committed, the coroner so indicates and recommends that prosecution follow.

Did you ever hear of two people disputing over what was the boundary line between two pieces of land, or hear some one say he did not know what the exact boundary line of his town lots were? Each county has a surveyor who may survey the land and say where the boundaries are. He also makes surveys for the county court when they ask him to do so.

Most counties now have a highway engineer. He is supposed to know more about improving the roads, putting in bridges, and the planning of a good system of roads all over

the county than any other person. He directs, in many cases, the road overseers in their work. The importance of this office is increasing with the greater demand for better roads. He should be, and in many cases is, the expert road man of the county.

In closing our chapter on local rural government, it is well to say that more interest should be taken in it. It gives a chance for all of us to do some good for people around us, and we should know at least as much about it as our state or national government, perhaps more.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Name all the different kinds of units of local rural government discussed in this chapter.
2. Show in what way the municipal township is like the incorporated township. In what ways is it different?
3. What do you think is the more important unit of local government in Missouri, the township or the school district? Give reasons for your answer.
4. Have a talk with an official of your school district and of your township, and get each to tell you how he does his work. Report this to your class.
5. Visit some day, if possible, the county court of your county, and write a description of what you see and hear.
6. Have a talk with one or both of your parents about any one or all of the county officials in your county, and see if they can't give you many interesting facts not mentioned in this chapter.

CHAPTER XI

CITY GOVERNMENT

You may remember that, in the first chapter, we spoke of being able to see over a square plot of land which had within it 640 acres and that we called this a square mile. We said there were about 70,000 of these in Missouri, or to be exact, there are 68,727. Living on these many square miles are the more than 3,400,000 people. They all live within the 114 counties except the nearly 773,000 in the city of St. Louis. These counties are divided into nearly 1300 townships, making an average of over 11 to the county. Within each township there are usually several school districts. School districts, townships and counties are all important as units of local government, but there is another kind of unit just as important as any one of them and as centers of business and wealth much more important than any one of them. When we think of these centers we picture people living close together and making their living in some other way than by farming. For want of a better word, we may call every such center a municipality, and speak of its government as municipal. There are 712 of these communities in Missouri, 324 of which are called cities; 83, towns, and 305, villages. There are five cities which have exactly the same boundaries as the townships in which they are located. There are 17 cities, 2 towns, and 4 villages which are in parts of two or more townships.

Not only are the cities, towns and villages the most important centers of business and wealth, but, take them as a whole, they are increasing much more rapidly in population. During the ten years from 1910 to 1920, 89 of the 114 counties lost in population. Most of the gain in the other counties was in the cities of over 2500 in population. Even with the gain in the cities, Missouri increased in population during

the ten years from 1910 to 1920 only 3.4 per cent, while the whole United States increased 14.9 per cent. And did you know that in 1920 46.6 per cent of all the people in Missouri lived in municipalities of 2500 or more? If the same number of people in Missouri lived on each square mile of territory, there would be about 50—thus we see that what we call the density of population is not large. In these municipalities, the centers of business, wealth, increasing population and social life, we may expect to see a different kind of local government than that in the open country. For, in them, people live close together, so close in fact that it is not very much trouble for them to go to church, school, consult a doctor, lawyer, dentist, and buy something at a store.

There is a much better chance, also, to cooperate with each other in having what are known as modern conveniences, such as running water, gas, electricity, and paved streets. People living in municipalities not only have a greater number of conveniences but they usually have to face more dangers than in the open country. The houses being close together, there is more danger from fire. Since people see and talk to each other more frequently, there is greater danger in catching a contagious disease or having a dispute over something. People have to be much more careful about what they do with sewage. In fact there are so many things to be looked after in the municipalities which do not have to be in the open country that there is need for special officials, and hence a special government. Each city, town and village in the state, except St. Louis City, are under the county government, too, and help support it just as do the people in the rural communities.

Did you ever wonder whether or not a group of people could go ahead and form a village, town or city without paying attention to any one else? They cannot. The people of the whole state, through their constitution and legislature, have a great deal to say about this. We generally speak of

the powers these municipalities get from the constitution and the legislature as a charter, and, when a group of people get such a charter, they are said to be incorporated. Up until about fifty years ago, if a community wanted a charter, it asked the legislature through a petition to give it one. This was called a special charter. This way of getting a charter caused the legislature a great deal of trouble and brought about too many kinds of municipal government, so our last constitution forbids the legislature from granting special charters. The legislature now passes what are known as general laws or charters for cities and a community may incorporate under such a charter if a majority of the inhabitants, among whom must be a majority of tax-paying inhabitants of the place, present a petition to the county court of the county where the place is located.

If a community having a population of less than 500 wishes to incorporate as either a town or a village, it may do so, in case two-thirds of its resident taxpayers petition the county court. Such a community cannot incorporate as a city. The legislature of the state has divided Missouri's cities into four classes (these classes do not include a few cities which kept their special charters, or St. Louis and Kansas City, which were allowed by the state constitution, because they had more than 100,000 population, to frame their own charters). Should a community wish to become a fourth class city, it must have a population of at least 500 and less than 3000; a third class city, at least 3000 and less than 30,000; a second class, more than 27,500 and less than 75,000. Any community of over 75,000 may become a first class city. Should a city wish to change from one class to another, there must be not only the necessary population, but a majority of the voters, voting at an election, must favor the change.

Most of the cities in Missouri belong to the fourth class. *Of course, in the larger cities there are more officials and*

many more things to be done by the city government, but every city, town and village has, as a part of its government, what may be called its legislative department (more often called the city or town council) which makes laws (called ordinances). In only one city (Kansas City) is the council divided into two parts, or houses. In cities of the first and second classes it is known as the *common council*; in cities of the fourth class, board of aldermen; in towns and villages, board of trustees. It is the custom to speak of the legislative department of any city, town or village as the council. The people elect the members of the council usually for a term of one or two years, though in the larger cities the term is generally four years. Cities are usually divided into wards and one or more members of the council is elected from each ward.

The council has a great many things to do, especially in the cities of considerable size. It passes ordinances to raise money by taxation, to borrow money for building sewers, a water system, or any other improvement for which the city needs to borrow money. It looks after keeping order, fire protection, health, streets, sidewalks, and the city's buildings. In most cities, any ordinance passed by the council must be approved by the mayor, the head executive of the city. The mayor may veto the ordinance, in which case it does not become a law unless passed over his veto by two-thirds of the members of the council.

Once the ordinances are passed there should be some one to carry them out, or enforce them. In most cities the mayor is the chief person to do this. He is chosen by the voters of the whole city for a term of two years, in the smaller cities, and four in the larger. The chief executive in the towns and villages is called the chairman of the board of trustees. He is chosen by the board for a term of one year. In most cities the mayor has some power of appointing other officials. These appointments usually have to be approved

by the council. In the largest cities this power of appointment means a great deal to the mayor, for some of the officers draw large salaries and have a great deal of work to do. The mayor often rewards people, in this way, who have worked for his election.

"In addition to the mayor there are in all cities a number of officials who attend to the details in the affairs of the city. In most cities the following officials are elected for terms which vary from two to four years: assessor, collector, treasurer, attorney, and marshal, or chief of police. The following officials are usually appointed by the mayor or council or by the mayor with the approval of the council: city clerk, fire chief, city engineer, street commissioner, park commissioner, and city physician, or health officer. Inspectors of licenses, plumbing, buildings, etc., are appointed in the larger cities. Where a city owns its water works, light plant, etc., they are placed under the control of an appointive commissioner, superintendent, or board of public works or improvements. In cities whose income and expenses are very large, there are an auditor and a comptroller, who look after the accounts of the city and approve claims against it.

"These cities have also many other officials. As the voter cannot personally know many of the candidates for city offices, he cannot make a wise selection where there are a large number of offices to fill. Hence it is a better rule to reduce the number of elective offices and have most positions filled by the mayor's appointment. Being appointed by and responsible to one man, these officers will work together better than elective officers. The voters will hold the mayor responsible for their acts, and as he wishes to make a good record, he will try to appoint the best men he can secure." (Loeb, *Government in Missouri*, page 60).

You would expect that people in municipalities would have disputes which they cannot settle themselves and that

some of them would not obey the city ordinances. Cities have courts to decide these disputes and to say whether or not a person has disobeyed an ordinance. The officials who hold these courts go by the name of judges of the police court or police judges. In most cities they are elected by the people, but in towns and villages the work of the police court is done by the chairman of the board of trustees. In cities of the fourth class, too, unless the board of aldermen selects a judge, the mayor acts as the judge. If a person is not satisfied with what a city court decides, he can usually appeal the case to the circuit court.

Many people who have thought the matter over carefully believe that too many of the officials in most of the cities are elected, and they think so because if anything goes wrong it is hard to find out who is to blame. The legislature of the state listened to these people and passed laws permitting second and third class cities to have what is known as "commission government." In such cities only the commission (made up of three persons in third class cities and five in second class cities) is elected by the people. All the other officials of the city are chosen by this commission. If anything goes wrong in a commission governed city, the people know who is to blame—it is the city commission. As an example, not long ago in one of these cities a marshal shot at an automobile. The people in the auto thought the marshal should not have done this, but they did not complain at all to the marshal. They went straight to the city commission and asked that the marshal be dismissed. After thinking the matter over, the commission agreed with them, and so the marshal was dismissed.

In commission governed cities the mayor is one of the commissioners and has hardly any more power than one of the other commissioners. When once elected, the commissioners meet and divide up the work they are to do. One may look after the water works; another, of the police; an-

other, of streets. Of course they consult and talk over each other's work, and a majority of them can check what the others are doing, but generally each is allowed to go ahead and run his own part of the work. So, if the streets are or are not looked after carefully, the commissioner who has charge of streets can be praised or blamed instead of the whole commission.

You see, then, this commission has a great deal of power in the city, so much that the people are allowed, if the commissioners are not doing what they wish, to vote on putting them out of office. This is known as the recall. And just as we say all officials in the city are responsible to the commission, so is the commission responsible to the voters if enough of the voters care to act through the recall.

A number of cities in the United States have gone a step further than the commission form of government. They, through their commissioners, choose a man to look after nearly everything in the city government. This man is called a manager, and he is expected to run the affairs of the city in much the same way as a good manager would a big business house. Third class cities in Missouri may have such a manager if they so desire (See Laws of Missouri 1921, page 487). Cities of considerable size in Missouri all need to have water, electric light, gas, and telephone systems. These things the people in great numbers feel they have to have, so we call them necessities. So many people, indeed, feel the need of these things that they are called *public utilities*, even though the city may not own or operate any one of these systems. The city needs to have control over these public utilities, for they use the streets in putting in pipes, setting poles, and stringing wires. So a street may not only be torn up, but may be made unbeautiful. Then again, the companies running these systems may charge too much for their services, and so the city or somebody in our government should be able to control the rate they charge. As we have

noticed, if the city and the company cannot agree on what shall be the charge, it may be settled by the Missouri Public Service Commission.

Cities often charge such companies for the right to the use of the streets. This right which a company may get from the city is called a franchise. There have been cases where the council giving such a franchise has not been careful enough about protecting the interests of the city. There is little question but what in some cases members of councils have been given money to make the franchise as the company wishes it to be. This we call bribery. Such actions as that on the part of the council cause many people to believe in municipal ownership—that is, that the city should own and operate these systems. So there are many cities which own and operate their own systems, especially the water and electric light plants. Some of these municipal owned plants are a success and some are a failure, but on the whole they likely get on about as well as those owned by companies.

In the larger cities where there is much to be done by the government, and therefore a great deal of money to be spent, we often hear of officials being dishonest. These dishonest officials are talked about a great deal more than those who go ahead from day to day and do their work well. Not just any one, however honest the person may be, can do well the many important things to be done in a city. The larger cities need a number of people known as experts. These should really be chosen without thinking about what political party they belong to. It really makes no difference whether a policeman is a Republican or a Democrat, but it does make a great deal of difference whether or not he knows his business. The same can be said of a fireman or a city physician. It would seem the only right thing to do would be to test or examine people carefully before they are given these positions with the city, and then keep them as long as they give good service. When cities choose their

officials in this way and keep them so long as they do their work well, we say such cities have the civil service. Not many cities in our state have the civil service. Kansas City has done more than any other city in having a civil service.

We often hear people grumble about the way the city governments are run, and there may be some reason for this; but any city can have a good government if all the honest people will go together and demand it. It is often hard for the people to keep up interest because nearly everybody is so busy making a living that they have little time to think about anything else. When a great many people do get aroused and show interest, we say *public opinion* is making itself felt; and after all, there is nothing that will do so much to make and keep a good city government as an aroused public opinion. This means that all of us who live in the cities should be interested and try to help in every way to make a good city government.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

1. Do you think Kansas City should really be a part of Jackson County?
2. What is meant by "a commission governed city?"
3. Should most cities have a manager, just as any big business has?
4. Are any cities in Missouri allowed to have managers?
5. Find out who owns and operates the public utilities in the city you know most about.
6. Write to the National Municipal Review, 261 Broadway, New York, and ask them to tell you how many cities in United States have a commission form of government, how many have the city manager plan. Ask them how these forms of government work.

PART III

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER XII

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

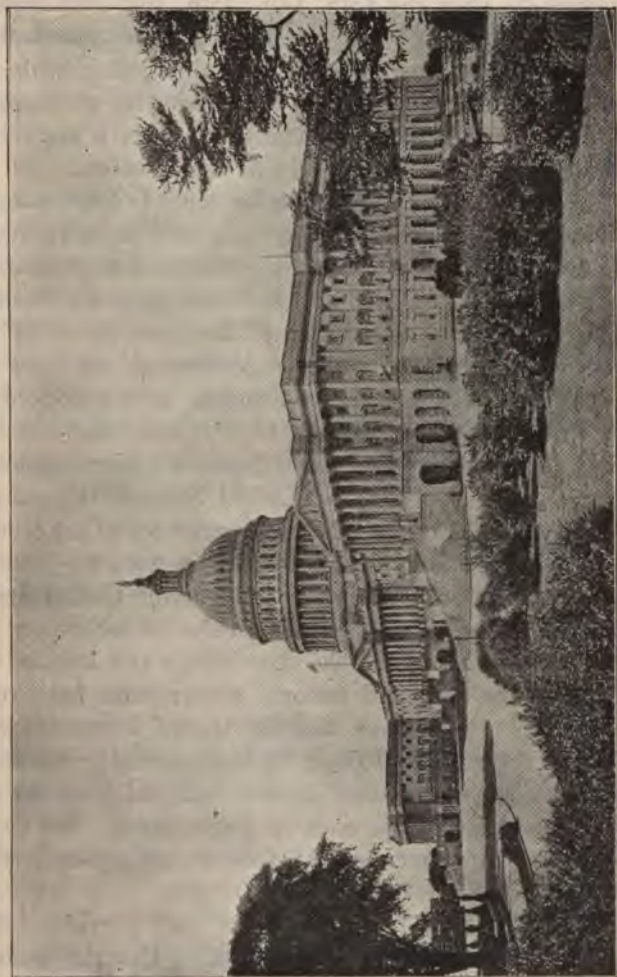
Each one of us lives in a school district and many of us, who do not live in cities, may know every person in that district. Each one of us, too, lives in one or more kinds of townships—congressional, municipal, or organized; and some of us may know nearly every person in the township. Every one of us except those in St. Louis City lives in a county. More than half of the people in Missouri live in cities of some kind. In any of these units of local government it is quite easy for us to talk to the persons who run the local government and watch this kind of government in its work. The local government protects and helps us in what we call our "community" needs. A great many of our needs reach far beyond the community in which we live, and so we have our state and national governments to help and protect us in these needs. We have seen the many ways the state government protects and helps us, though we do not see nearly so often the persons who run our state government.

Did you ever stop to think that every time you sent or received a letter the national government was helping you? This government is to help and protect every one of the 110,000,000 people of the whole United States. These local state and national governments not only help and protect every one of us, and as has often been said, "act directly upon individuals," but each has something to do with the other two. If you will think of each one of them as your boss for a moment, you will then likely ask in just what ways may each one boss you; or, to put it in another way, you may ask

just what powers each may have over you. We must go to the constitution of the United States to find out about this. If you will look over that constitution, usually found in the back part of your text-book on American History, you will find it names or specifies the powers which the United States government shall have, names a few powers which no kind of government can have, and leaves all the rest of the powers to the people in the states.

This means that the voters of each state can have the kind of local government they wish. If the voters in a state, acting through their constitution and laws, wished to do so, they could do away with any kind of local government which they now have and put something else in its place. We can thus say that local government is the "creature" of the voters of each state; that is, one of our three bosses is really bossed by another. The constitution of the United States, as we have said, tries to name or specify the powers which the national government shall have—and so we call it a government of *specified* powers. It says also (amendment X): "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." The states have, therefore, *reserved* powers. The idea is that each government—national and state—shall do the work laid out for it to do and not interfere or bother with the other.

Since we have really two big bosses to help and protect us, we sometimes call our government a *dual* government. So one big thing which the constitution of the United States provides for is a dual government. And then it names the powers the national government shall have and leaves the rest to the states, thus giving rise to the words *specified* and *reserved* powers. That is not all. In a number of ways this constitution points out things which neither government can do (Look in Article I, Sections 9 and 10). The constitution of the United States lists quite a number of things which the



CAPITOL BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

national government cannot do (See the first ten amendments to the constitution) and a shorter list of things which the states cannot do (See the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 19th amendments). To put it in a word, our United States constitution provides for *limited* government. Taken together with the constitution of our state (which also limits its government both local and state), there are many things each one of us can do and with which no government can interfere.

Thus our constitutions provide for what is known as "a field of individual liberty." Every now and then, however, not only do the state and national governments dispute about just what the powers of each are, but some person will claim that their "field of individual liberty" has been "invaded" by somebody who is helping run the government or by some other person. To settle these disputes, as we noticed in Chapter V, we have courts—the highest one, and the one which has the final say-so in the disputes we are speaking of, is the supreme court of the United States. We usually speak of this "final say-say" as the "supremacy of the federal judiciary." In deciding these disputes, it goes by what it thinks the constitution, laws and treaties of the United States mean, if any one or all of these have rules on what they are deciding. If not, they go by the constitution and laws of the state. If both the state and national governments have rules on the same thing in dispute, then the United States supreme court follows the rules laid down by the national government in case the rules in the state constitution and laws do not agree with the rules of the national government. We speak of this as the "supremacy of the federal law" (See Article VI, Constitution of the United States).

Our United States constitution not only provides for a dual (sometimes called federal) government, that the national government shall have *specified* and the state *reserved* powers, that each is limited (therefore giving each person a field of individual liberty), that in case of conflicts the

federal law and federal judiciary shall be supreme, but it says, too, who shall be citizens of the United States (see amendment XV).

To be a citizen of a nation means that you are a member of the nation (sometimes spoken of as member of a state). Just because you are a member of a state means you have many rights and duties. In our dual government both the state and national governments protect us in our rights and try to help us in our duties toward the government and individuals. One of the most important rights we have is that of voting, usually called the right of suffrage. This right is really given us by the states, but the constitution of the United States is very clear that no state can keep a person from voting because of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude or sex" (see amendments XV and XIX).

Should you look at a map of the United States, you might get to wondering how the states got along with each other. In most ways they have little trouble, but we all know they have a great deal to do with each other, and the constitution of the United States has so arranged it that these relations, called "interstate relations," shall be carried on in an orderly way (see Article IV of the constitution).

The men who made the constitution of the United States knew that it might have to be changed, so they put in it Article V, called the "amending clause." If two-thirds of both houses of Congress think it necessary, they may propose amendments; or, if the legislatures of two-thirds of the states ask Congress, a convention must be called to propose amendments. No convention has ever been asked for by the states. Once proposed, the amendment, in order to become a part of the constitution, must be agreed to by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states or by convention in three-fourths of the states. No amendment has ever been agreed to, or ratified, by conventions. You see, then, that it is not an easy matter to change the constitution of the United States.

Since the constitution went into operation, nineteen of the amendments proposed by Congress have been ratified by three-fourths of the legislatures of the states, and so have become a part of the constitution.

A large part of the constitution of the United States deals with the kind of national government we shall have (see Articles I, II, III). These articles point out how the three departments (legislative, executive and judicial) shall be organized and what their powers shall be. We shall say something about these departments in the three chapters which follow. Most of the men who made the constitution intended that the powers each department had should be separate and apart from every other department, but the growth of political parties and the departments having to work together to get things done has done much to bring these powers together.

Although our national constitution provides the several important things we have spoken of, it is not long. Most of it is clear and to the point. It may, without boasting, be called one of the greatest documents in the world, and should be studied and understood, as far as possible, by all of us.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Explain what is meant by a dual government; a federal government.
2. What is the reason for having "a field of individual liberty?"
3. State exactly just how the national constitution has always been amended.
4. Compare this way of amending with the several ways of amending the constitution of Missouri.
5. What is meant by the terms "supremacy of the federal judiciary," "supremacy of the federal law."
6. Write one of your United States senators and ask him if he thinks of any improvements which could be made in our national government.

CHAPTER XIII

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

We have all seen pictures of most of the Presidents of the United States, but how many of us have ever seen a living President or ex-President? Not so often we are sure, as we have seen one of our governors. But you see the governor of our state is the chief executive of only about 3,400,000 people, while the President is the chief executive of about 110,000,000. We have noticed how men struggle to be governor of our state, and how the President is nominated, and how the two big parties go into a great political battle every four years to elect a President.

It has often been said, and is no doubt true, that the President has more power than any other official in the world. He is the head of a great host of officials numbering over half a million, as Mr. Haskin has said, "a machine which can patch a mail bag, study a plant louse, maneuver an army, or dig a Panama Canal."

Congress makes the laws, the courts explain them, or interpret them, and the President and his helpers carry them out, or execute them. As an example, toward the end of the nineteenth century, Congress passed a law which provided that people who received certain sized incomes should pay taxes on these incomes. When that law was made it was the duty of the President and his helpers to carry it out. But some said this law was against a certain part of the constitution of the United States and so the courts were asked to decide this question, or interpret the law. It was finally decided that the law was against the constitution, and, therefore, the income tax did not have to be paid. The President is not only the head of the department which executes the laws; he usually has a great deal to say about how and what laws are made, that is, he does much in framing the laws.

The majority of the people, and especially his political party, expects him to take a leading part in getting laws passed.

Although the President has a cabinet of ten members who are his chief assistants in helping him carry out the law, he is the person who has to take the blame or praise, or the responsibility, for carrying out the laws. These ten men may all unite in advising him to do something, but he does not have to follow this advice. The story is told of President Lincoln, who asked his cabinet of seven members to vote on a question. They all voted "no," and he voted "yes." "Therefore," said he, "the ayes have it." He had a right to do this since it was he who had to take the responsibility.

You can readily see that the President is a very busy man, but he carries on most of his work in such an orderly way and has so many good helpers that he takes "as many days off" as most busy men.

"For instance, although his mail is the largest received by the head of any government on earth, it is so handled that the task of going through it is not a very burdensome one. The daily number of letters ranges from 500 to 2,000, but less than a hundred of these require the personal attention of the President.

"The constant stream of callers and the vast amount of routine business make the heaviest demands upon the time of the President. During the first three or four weeks of his administration, he may have to shake hands with from 50,000 to 75,000 people. Unless he learns to grip the hand of his visitor before the visitor grips his, he is sure to have a badly swollen arm. The President may transact the business of his office at any place he may elect, and there is nothing to prevent his spending the major portion of his time elsewhere than in Washington. Congress once asked President Grant to advise it as to what part of his duties were performed outside of the District of Columbia. He replied in a polite, but none the less pointed, note that it was none of Congress'

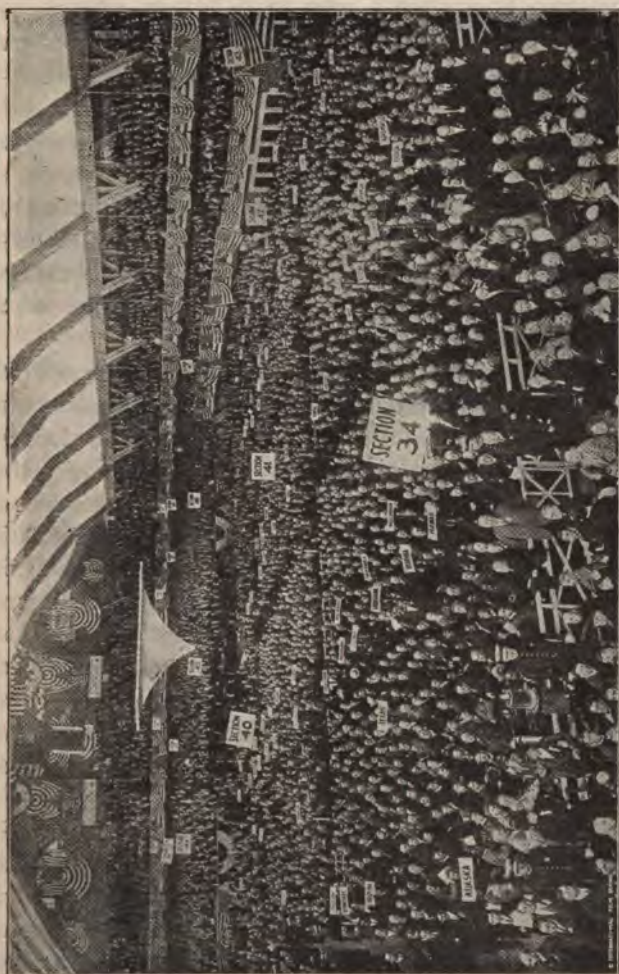


DEMOCRATS NOMINATING A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

business. Never since then has this right been questioned. There is nothing in the Constitution which prohibits the President from going beyond the borders of the United States, but Mr. Cleveland was the first President to do so. On a fishing trip he went beyond the three mile limit in the Atlantic Ocean." (Haskin, *The American Government*, page 6).

We have just noticed that the President is responsible for what his chief helpers (the cabinet members) do, that he has great power as head of his political party, that he has much to do in framing laws and seeing that they are passed and that seeing, shaking hands and talking to people who are not in office takes considerable of his time. He has many other important powers. He has what are known as the appointive and removal powers. He appoints the ten heads of departments which he gathers around him as his cabinet members. He also appoints the members of the supreme court of the United States and our ambassadors which go to foreign countries. The United States Senate has to consent to all these appointments, but it generally does so without very much question. And, when once appointed, the President can remove any of these officials, except members of the court, without anybody's consent.

It is reasonable that he should have this power of removal if he is to be responsible for their acts. But there are many others, not so important, that are, in name, appointed in the same way as those we have just spoken of, but really the President is guided largely in these appointments by some one from the state in which the appointment is to be made. That some one is usually one or both of the United States Senators from the state, if one or both belong to the President's political party. If there is nobody in Congress of the same political party as the President, then he usually permits his party's national committeeman from that state to have a great deal to say about it. This really means that the



REPUBLICANS NOMINATING A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

President usually leaves the appointment of United States marshals, internal revenue collectors, and circuit and district attorneys to some one else. Members of the Senate and national committeemen can and do help the President a great deal in these appointments, since they know "who's who" in their states much better than he does.

This power which senators and others have of really appointing marshals, etc., is called "patronage." There are other appointments, such as postmasterships in the smaller places, which a member of the House of Representatives of the United States may and does really make, if the member is of the President's party. This means that members of the House sometimes have "patronage," too.

While there are many of the some 500,000 helpers of the President who are appointed by him, influenced in case after case by members of the Senate and sometimes members of the House, the great mass of these half million get their places by taking an examination called the civil service examination, and whoever appoints must make their selection from those who have passed the examinations successfully. There are a few appointments (Librarian of Congress is one) which the President makes without the consent of the Senate. Of course there are numbers of appointments made by the ten heads of departments and the courts. Any officer appointed by the President alone, the courts or heads of departments, is classed by Congress as "inferior," but this does not mean that all of them are unimportant.

Another great power which the President has, along with the War and Navy departments, is that which he exercises as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy. He can order soldiers to go where he pleases, and the fleet around the world—in a word, handle the army and navy as he sees fit; but Congress fixes the size of both the army and navy, lays down a great many rules for both to follow, and what is more, appropriates the money which supports both. How-

ever, in case of war, Congress generally passes such appropriation and other bills as the President desires.

Surely you all have seen a picture of our secretary of state of the United States. The President and he represent the United States in its dealings with other countries, and in this way the national executive department has a great deal of power and is coming to have more every year, as we have more to do with other countries. We have seen that the President appoints ambassadors—this is the name for those who represent us in a political way in the most important countries of the world, in the less important countries our political representatives usually go by the name of ministers. We carry on trade and commerce with nearly all countries of the world, and so important is this to us that we also have in other countries persons who represent us in those ways. The usual name given to one of these representatives is that of consul, and we say he is in the “consular service” just as we speak of our political representative as being in the “diplomatic service.”

Not only through these two services do the President and secretary of state wield great power, but any one who represents another nation in this country must be suitable to the President. When such a person comes to this country he is taken to the President by our secretary of state, who receives him in a kindly way. If such a representative does something which does not please the President, he may dismiss him, if he sees fit.

Though the Congress has the power to declare war, the President may say and do many things which would get us into war in spite of this power of Congress. You will likely remember that President Polk had troops on the Mexican border just before the outbreak of the Mexican war and that President McKinley had ordered the battleship Maine to go to Havana just before the Spanish-American war.

Not only may the President bring on war, but he is our leader when it comes to making peace or making a treaty with another country, whether it be at the end of a war or not. We speak of his work in this way as that of negotiating treaties. Any treaty which he makes or negotiates must be agreed to by a two-thirds majority of the Senate. The President sometimes has understandings, usually called "executive agreements," with other countries. These do not have to be agreed to by the Senate. Mr. Roosevelt made such an agreement with Santo Domingo in 1905, after the Senate had refused to agree to a treaty he had made. It is easy to see how the President and Senate might get to quarreling over this matter just as they did in 1905, but it is hard to see how the Senate could stop the President if he wished to make the "agreement."

We have noticed that the President has, and most people and especially his political party expect him to have, a very close connection with Congress in framing laws and seeing that they are passed. We do not find these powers of his mentioned in the Constitution. He has powers in relation to Congress which are mentioned. One is called the "veto" power. The bills which are passed by both houses of Congress must be sent to the President, who either agrees with Congress or disagrees. If he agrees, he signs the bill. After being published and announced by the Secretary of State, it becomes a law. Should he disagree, and therefore "veto" it, he must return it to the house where it originated. It can then only become a law by Congress passing it over his veto by a two-thirds majority vote in each house. If he keeps the bill more than ten days (Sundays excepted) while Congress is meeting, it becomes a law whether he signs it or not. If Congress adjourns within the ten days, and he has not signed it, it fails to become a law. It may be you wonder why the President has this power in law making. One reason is to keep Congress from passing bills which will take away the

President's power. Another is the President may think the bill, if it becomes a law, will do more harm than good. Still another reason, he may think the law would not agree with the Constitution of the United States. He, himself, states what his objections are, when he sends the bill back to the house where it originated. During our whole history, out of all the bills passed, few have been vetoed, and, of those which were vetoed, very few were repassed by the two-thirds vote. We thus see that in this matter both the President and Congress have been reasonable with each other.

Another power, or rather duty, the President has, in relation to Congress, is to give them information and recommend certain measures to it through his messages. All Presidents, with the exception of Washington, John Adams, Wilson, and Harding, sent their messages to both houses in a written form to be read before them by a clerk. The four just mentioned read their most important messages before the two houses assembled together in the hall of the House of Representatives. In the important messages, the President outlines pretty fully what he wishes done, trying to win over to his views both the people and Congress. In order to have it read widely, thousands of copies are sent to as many newspapers throughout the United States. It is set up and ready for printing before the message is delivered by the President. "The moment its reading is begun in the halls of Congress every newspaper is informed that the message is 'released,' whereupon the paper goes upon the street within a few minutes containing the whole thing." (Haskin, *American Government*, pages 10, 11). A message of the President is the one paper written by a government official which is read by millions of people all over the United States and by many in other countries, and is a fine means of speaking his mind both to Congress and the people.

Let us suppose that Congress is not in session and that we are about to get into war, or that there needs to be a

law passed for some other purpose. You can readily see that the President should have the power to call them together. The Constitution gives him this power. Of course he will tell them what he thinks should be done, but they do not have to do what he suggests. However, they usually do not adjourn without doing something about what he suggests. He has a pretty good idea beforehand whether they will do anything or not.

The President often has quite important connections, too, with Congress through his Cabinet members. Cabinet members do not belong to the legislature, as they do in England, and they do not have the chance to discuss matters on the floor of either house, but they talk to members of Congress freely and often appear before committees of both houses and no doubt influence these committees at times to do what they wish done. It may be, too, that the President gets the support of a number of members of Congress because they wish him to appoint some particular person to office. It is thought by many that Presidents constantly hold back appointments so they will get better support in getting laws passed through Congress. This power of appointment and control of offices is called "executive patronage." Just how far this patronage is used to influence members of Congress is hard to tell, for that is something neither a congressman nor a President would care to talk about much.

Now, as we notice the President's powers as head of a great political party; in framing, suggesting, and vetoing laws; in sending messages and calling Congress into extra session; in appointing to and removing people from offices; his war powers; his powers in relation to other countries; his power to influence people through meeting and talking to them face to face or through the newspapers; and added to all these his power to pardon, reprieve and commute the sentence of any person who has committed a crime against the United States, except where they are impeached—we may

wonder just what kind of qualifications such a person must have in order to be President. Of course just how much power a President has will depend a great deal on how strong a person he is; in other words, much depends on his personality. The Constitution states that the President must be "a natural born citizen of the United States," and shall have been for "fourteen years a resident within the United States," and that he shall "have attained to the age of thirty-five years." The Constitution also fixes the time, or term, he shall serve at four years. Ten of our Presidents have been re-elected for a second term, but none of them have been re-elected for a third term. There are some good reasons for putting the term at six or seven years and fixing it so the President cannot be re-elected.

The President while in office can really do as he pleases. Nobody can arrest him unless he permits it; he cannot be fined; the courts cannot try him for anything. Congress and the President at times disagree and talk rather sharply to each other, but the only way Congress could do anything with him at all would be for the House to impeach him (means about the same as indictment by a grand jury) and the Senate to convict him. Only one President has ever been impeached and not one has ever been convicted. The President seldom has any trouble with the courts.

With all the great powers which the President has, he should be paid well and have as many comforts and conveniences as possible. His salary is \$75,000 a year, and he has several hundred thousands of dollars each year which Congress appropriates to his department. Some is for clerks and secretaries; some, for traveling expenses; some, for the greenhouse and many other things. Some, called the contingent fund, he can spend as he pleases. He is furnished a fine old mansion, called the White House, in which he lives. Nearby, in the same wide-spreading yard, are the executive

offices where most of his secretaries and clerks do their work.

Most people not only take a great deal of interest in the election of a President, but are also interested in his coming into office—usually called inauguration ceremonies. "The



THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C.
Front view, showing the original building

President is inaugurated about four months after his election. While a presidential candidate always receives notification of his nomination, the President-elect receives no such advice, but gets his information from the newspapers and presents himself in Washington a few days before his inauguration. A presidential inauguration is one of the finest governmental spectacles in the world. Its impressiveness lies in its simplicity rather than in its display.—Over 30,000 men march in a present day inaugural parade. Nearly 200,000 people come to Washington from all parts of the country to witness it. Daniel Webster said of the crowd which attended the first inauguration of Andrew Jackson that it was a multi-

tude, too many to be fed without a miracle, and that it seemed that the whole nation rushed to the Capital. The great multitude was computed to be about 8,000 people. The first real inaugural ball occurred when James Madison came into office. The crowd which attended was estimated at 400. Provision was made for 15,000 at the Taft inaugural ball" (Haskin, American Government, page 9).

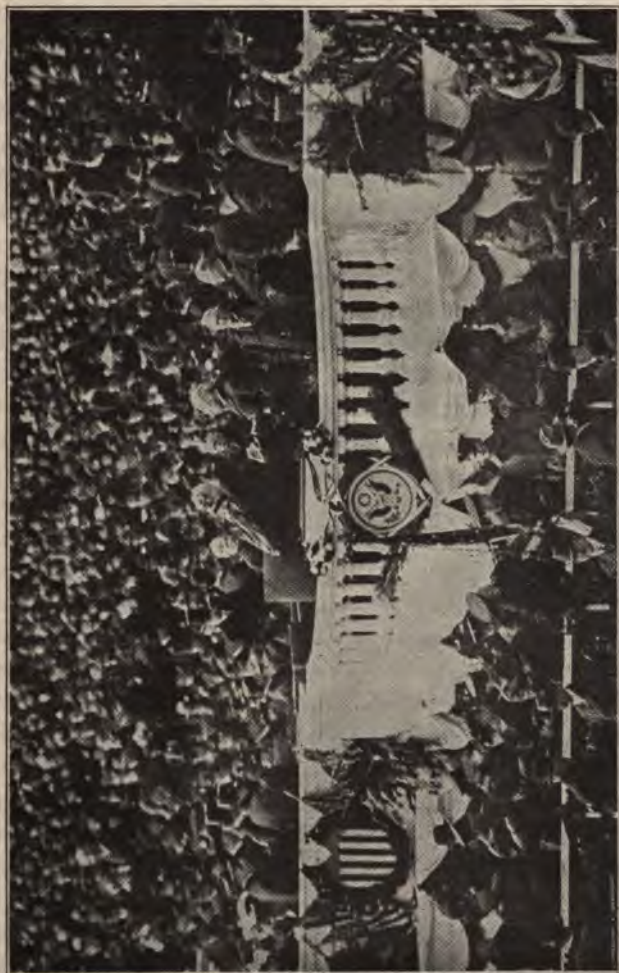
Many weeks before, and at the time the President is inaugurated, there is a great deal of interest shown in his choice of the heads of the ten executive departments who make up his cabinet. These are: (1) Secretary of State; (2) Secretary of the Treasury; (3) Secretary of War; (4) Attorney-General; (5) Secretary of the Navy; (6) Postmaster-General; (7) Secretary of the Interior; (8) Secretary of Agriculture; (9) Secretary of Commerce; (10) Secretary of Labor. We have noticed how these cabinet officers are appointed and removed. Each one has two big things to do: (1) he must look after the management of his own department; (2) he must meet with the President and other members of the Cabinet. They "put their heads together" and decide on those things best to do which concern the whole country. We say the President and his Cabinet make up the "Administration" and we speak of what they decide to do as their "policy." Since the President can appoint and remove his Cabinet officers as he pleases, the policy decided upon is the President's. In the management of their several departments the President usually allows them a pretty free hand and in the Cabinet meetings he sometimes gives in to their views; but when a policy is agreed upon, the Cabinet and the President stand up for it as one person. You can see they would never get anywhere if they went before the people and Congress disagreeing among themselves. Of course if one or more Cabinet members believe so strongly in a different policy from that which the President wants followed that it is uncomfortable, they may resign.

The meetings of the Cabinet are not open to the public; that is, they meet in secret. They keep no record of what they do in these meetings, and they are held at such times as the President desires. There is no law governing what they do as a Cabinet, but there are many laws governing what each member does as the head of a department.

So important is the work that each of the ten departments does that each deserves a chapter, but this would make our little book too long, so we will just say a few words about each.

The department of state, like every other department, is divided into bureaus and each bureau into divisions, and at the head of each bureau and division is a chief. The head of this department is considered the most important person in the Cabinet. He is usually a man who has great influence all over the United States, especially in the political party of which the President is the head. The main bureaus in this department are the diplomatic and consular. We have already mentioned these two services. The State department receives and records the acts of Congress, and has published the proclamations of the President. This department is the one which carries on communications between the national government and other countries and also between the national government and the states. The State department also has charge of the Bureau of Archives, which keeps the records and correspondence of the nation, and the Bureau of Citizenship, which issues to our citizens who wish to live for a time or travel in other countries, papers called passports or certificates of citizenship.

The treasury department has charge of the national finances. The treasurer of the United States (not the Secretary of the Treasury) is an important official in this department. The treasury is at Washington, but there are sub-treasuries at New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, and San Francisco. These



PRESIDENT WILSON TAKING THE OATH AS PRESIDENT ON THE STEPS OF THE CAPITOL BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

also receive and pay out the government's money. Some national banks do the same thing.

There is a Register of the Treasury, who, among other things, issues and signs all United States bonds. There is also a Comptroller General of the United States and an Assistant whose main duties are to look after the national banks of the country. Should persons wish to organize a national bank, they would have to get the right to do so from the Comptroller's office. Working under this office are many bank examiners, who inspect the national banks.

The treasury department has a Director of the Mint. His main business is to look after the coining of money. There are mints at Philadelphia, Denver, San Francisco, and New Orleans. There are places called assaying offices, at which the government finds how pure the metals are which it uses for coins. These are located at New York, St. Louis, Deadwood, Helena, Boise, Carson City, Salt Lake, Seattle, and Charlotte. This department also has a Bureau of Engraving and Printing, a Supervising Architect, and a Secret Service.

The War and Navy Departments have charge of nearly all army and navy affairs. This means the War Department looks after the national military academy at West Point, army posts, camps and schools of instruction, military parks and cemeteries, seacoast fortifications, river and harbor improvements and obstructions to navigation; that the Navy Department looks after the naval academy at Annapolis, and through the Navigation, Yards and Docks, Equipment and Ordnance bureaus does the many things needed in keeping up the navy.

The Department of Justice is headed by the Attorney-General. He gives advice to the President and other United States officials about the meaning of the laws, and represents the United States before the courts. He can bring suit against persons or corporations for disobeying the laws of the United States. He may also direct United States attorneys and mar-

shals in their work. The National Secret Service is very closely connected with this department, especially in time of war.

The Post Office Department, at the head of which is the Postmaster-General, has charge and carries on one of the largest businesses in the world. Very likely you know more about its work than that of any other department. Its rural free delivery, parcels post service, postal savings and money order services are heard about a great deal.

Next to the Post Office Department, in the matter of service to the people, stands the Department of the Interior. Within the bounds of its work come public lands, pensions, patents, Indian affairs, the geological survey, and the bureau of Education. You can see from these names that it has a number of different things to do.

The Department of Agriculture has as its main bureaus those of Weather, Animal Husbandry, Plant Industry, Forestry, and Chemistry. Its services to farmers and others are very great.

The Department of Commerce is charged with promoting commerce, mining, manufacturing, shipping, fisheries, and transportations. It has the bureaus of Corporations, Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Light Houses, Census, Fisheries, Navigation, Standards, the Steamboat Inspection Service, and the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

The newest of all the departments is that of Labor. It was once combined with the Department of Commerce. Its object is "to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment." In this department we have the Children's bureau, the bureau of Labor Statistics, the bureau of Immigration, and the bureau of Naturalization. There are a number of bureaus and institutions not connected with any department (Smithsonian Institution, Library of Congress are

examples). You have only to think for a moment to see that our United States government, through its executive department, protects and serves us in many ways. Some people would like to have it do still more, others fear it is taking away powers and duties which the state governments should have. Usually the state and national governments cooperate rather happily in carrying on their work.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Are all the powers which the President has mentioned in the Constitution? If not, name two which are not.
2. Explain one or more ways in which the President may bring on war.
3. What is the difference between a person's work as head of one of the executive departments and his work as a member of the Cabinet.
4. What does each one of these words mean: "President's policy," "Administration."
5. Give your reasons why you think it would or would not be a good thing to allow cabinet officers to speak before either house of Congress.
6. Ask your father and mother if they have ever received any bulletins from the United States government. If they have, ask to look them over.

CHAPTER XIV

THE NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

You remember that our state has a general assembly which is often called the state legislature, and you have noticed that it makes laws for the people of Missouri to follow. The name of the national legislature is Congress. It makes laws for all the people of the United States to follow. Like our state legislature it has both a senate and a house of representatives. Each state has just two United States senators, but the number of members each state has in the house of representatives depends upon its population. The United States government takes a census every ten years, and so finds out how many people live in each state. Not long after this census Congress says, through a law, how many members the house of representatives shall have and also how many shall be chosen from each state. In order to find out the number of representatives each state shall have, Congress divides the population of the state by a number called the ratio of representation. In order to get this ratio, Congress must first decide on the number of members there shall be in the whole house, and then divide the whole population of the United States by this number. The ratio is now 211,977, and at the time this ratio was worked out (just after the census of 1910), Congress fixed the number in the house at 435. The population in 1910 was about 92,000,000. At that time Missouri had enough people to give her 16 representatives. If the number of representatives is allowed to remain at 435, the population having been in 1920 about 106,000,000, the ratio will have to go up to something over 243,000, and this will cause Missouri to lose two representatives. The Constitution allows each state one representative, however small its population, so Nevada with its population of about 77,000 has two senators and one representative. All

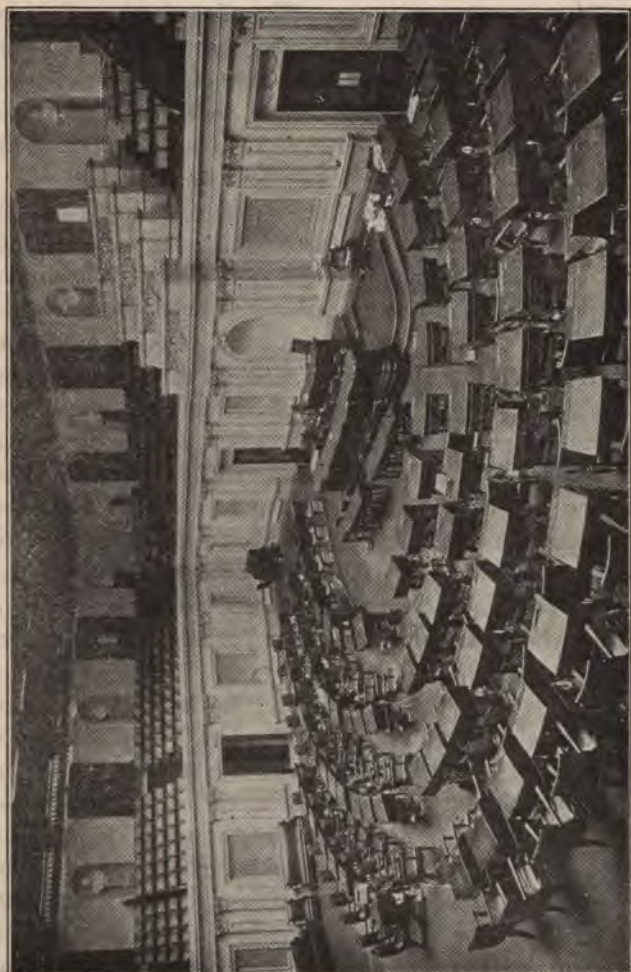
members of the house are nominated at primaries or in conventions every two years. They are then elected by the voters, following their nomination.

If a state has more than one representatives, it is divided by the state government into as many districts as it has representatives. The political party controlling the state government usually tries to arrange the districts so that they can elect as many representatives as possible. Sometimes this is done unfairly. When it is, it is spoken of as gerrymandering.

We have seen that each state has two United States senators, thus making a body of 96 members. Senators are nominated by their parties and elected by the voters of the whole state in a way similar to the representatives. They are elected for six years, one-third of them being chosen every two years. The senators are generally, therefore, men of more experience than are the members of the house, and, because the senate is smaller in number, it can work more rapidly if it chooses.

Should a senator not get to serve out the term for which he is elected, the governor of his state must call an election to fill the vacancy, unless the legislature has already passed a law permitting the governor to fill the vacancy until there is a general election. The legislature of Missouri has passed such a law, and so, when Senator Stone died a few years ago, Governor Gardner appointed Mr. Wilfley to take his place. Should a representative not be able to fill out his term, the governor can not fill the vacancy but must call an election for that purpose.

If you were to look at the pictures of the United States senators and representatives from Missouri in the latest Blue Book, you would say at once that the senators appear to be more than 30 years of age and the representatives more than 25. The Constitution requires them to be at least that old. A senator must not only be at least 30 years of age, but a *citizen* of the United States nine years and a resident of the



THE SENATE CHAMBER, CAPITOL BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

state from which he comes. Residence in his state is also required of a representative together with citizenship in the United States for seven years. The Constitution does not require it, but it is a custom to elect no one to the house who does not live in the congressional district from which the person is elected. No person can serve as a senator or representative and at the same time hold an office in either the national executive or judicial department.

Each senator and representative gets a salary of \$7500 a year and a considerable sum for traveling expenses (called mileage), depending on the distance from Washington. Several hundred dollars each year are allowed for clerk hire. While in Congress and in going to and from its sessions, there is freedom from arrest except in cases of breaking the peace, committing a felony or an act of treason. All of these are rather serious things, and it is a rare thing to even hear of a congressman accused of any of these acts. Each congressman has also what is known as freedom of debate, that is, no one outside of Congress can do anything with him for what he says while speaking in Congress. The right to have a good salary, be free to speak, and free from arrest all seem well, when we consider the important work Congress has to do.

It would seem just as well, too, that each house should be allowed to elect its own officials. The Vice-President of the United States is the president of the senate. With that exception, each house elects its own officers. The senate elects a president pro tempore to take the place of the Vice-President when he is absent. The chief officer of the house of representatives is the presiding officer, called the speaker. Both the president pro tempore and the speaker are members of their own houses, but for the other offices people are chosen outside of the houses.

We have now seen that Congress is made up of two houses, how many senators and representatives come from

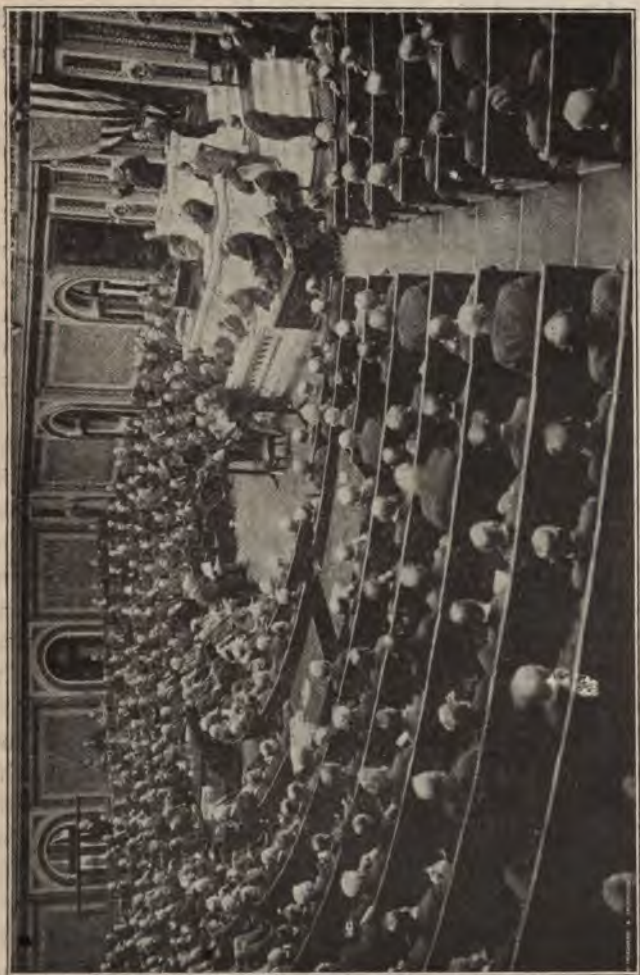
each state, how they are nominated and elected, what age, citizenship and resident qualifications it takes to be a member of each house, how much salary they receive, their freedom of speech and from arrest, their right to chose their own officials and who the chief official in each house is; but we have not seen how they work when they come together as a body.

Congress holds all of its meetings at the capitol in Washington. The Constitution requires that there be at least one session each year. This is called the regular session, and, up to the present time, has always started on the first Monday in December. We hold elections for members of Congress during the fall of every even numbered year, but the first regular sessoin of each Congress is not held until December of the year following the election. This means that, unless the President calls a special session, a newly elected member does not begin his active work in Congress until thirteen months after his election; for the life of what is known as a Congress does not begin until March 4th of odd numbered years. Thus its life is two years, and, since its first regular session begins in December of odd numbered years and lasts on for six months or more, it is called the long session. The second regular session is called the short session, since it can not last longer than March 4th of odd numbered years. For example, as this chapter is being written (February, 1922), the sixty-seventh Congress is in its first regular session (the long session) which began in December, 1921. This session will likely last into the summer of 1922. Its second regular session (short session) will begin in December, 1922, and can last only until March 4th, 1923. Of course the President may call special sessions when he chooses. Up until ten years ago the President seldom did this, but, due to the great amount of work Congress has to do, this is done constantly now. Congress may, however, adjourn its sessions whenever it sees fit.

Just as in any other legislative body, Congress must have rules to follow in carrying on its business. A few of these are put in the Constitution (e. g., a majority of the members of each house is a quorum, each house may expel a member by a two-thirds vote of that house), but each house may make most of its own rules to suit itself. The way laws are passed in our Congress is so much like that in the general assembly of Missouri that we need not describe the matter here. There are, however, a few differences we should note.

In the Missouri general assembly, it takes a majority of those elected to each house to finally pass a bill, but in Congress it requires only a majority of those present, providing there is a quorum present. Again, differing from the rule in Missouri, any law passed by Congress goes into effect just as soon as it is signed by the President or passed over his veto, unless the law itself fixes a different date. Again, if Congress is in session and a bill comes to the President which he keeps more than ten days, it becomes a law without his signing it. This is not true in Missouri.

Like in the Missouri legislature or any other state legislature, the committees play a very important part. So many bills are introduced that each member cannot examine every bill carefully. So the bills are distributed among many committees, and they have a chance to examine each one with care. If the committee favors a bill, it makes a favorable report, and this gives it a great advantage in passing. If the bill is not looked upon favorably in the committee, it usually stands little chance of passing. The party in the majority in each house appoints the majority of the members of each committee together with the chairman. The majority of the members on each committee usually stand together if it is something which is of interest to their party, and they will usually support what the majority on every other committee does.



THE OPENING OF A SESSION OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Although most of the important work of Congress is done in these committees, there is a great deal of time given over to debate and discussion. The number in the house is so large that they have to have rules which permit debates on a given question to last only so long. Sometimes on a very important bill the debate is allowed to last only a day or two. The senate, being a smaller body, does not usually limit the time of debate on any question.

Of course in the house the speaker has a great deal to say about who shall speak and how the debate is carried on. He is chosen by the majority party, and hence is always one of its leaders. He is much more powerful in the house than the Vice-President is in the senate. No member can speak until recognized by him, and his advice is constantly sought by the members of the house and his own party leaders.

Our story so far has been about what we may call the organization of Congress and how it carries on its work. We now wish to ask what powers it has. Most of these powers may be found named in Article I (Section 8) and Article IV of the Constitution; and, as we have noticed in the chapter on the Constitution of the United States, Congress, along with the other two departments of the national government, has only the *specified*, or named powers. In most cases one house of Congress has just as much power as the other, but there are a few powers each has that the other has not. The house has the "sole power of impeachment," and the senate has "the sole power to try all impeachments." "All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives" (this power really amounts to little, since the senate may amend the bills). In making most of his appointments to office, except during a recess of the senate, the President must have the "advice and consent of the senate." "Two-thirds of the senators present" have to consent to treaties before they become binding. These powers of the senate in appointment and the making of treaties are

real powers, and no doubt give this body some advantages over the house. Under certain conditions the house may elect the President, and under similar conditions the senate may elect the Vice-President (Amendment XII).

Although Congress has only *specified*, or *named* powers, all these powers are not expressly mentioned or named in so many words, for the last paragraph of Section 8, Article I of the Constitution gives Congress the power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper" to carry out its expressed powers. Now when Congress exercises a power which is not named in so many words in the Constitution, it is called an "implied power." Congress used such a power when it permitted national banks to organize. Congress is given the express power to collect taxes and borrow money, and so the Supreme Court if the United States held that Congress had the implied power to give banks the right to organize so that they might help in borrowing money and collecting taxes.

Having seen what are the powers each house has separately, and what is meant by implied powers, it is well for us now to see what are the main powers the two houses have together. Any government must have money to carry on its work successfully, and so must private individuals. We think of the value of many things in terms of money. Congress, and no one else, has the power to decide what kinds of money can be used in the United States. There are two kinds of money, metal and paper. The metal money is made out of gold, silver, nickel, or copper. Gold is used for the coins of the largest value; silver for the dollar, half dollar, quarter, and dime; nickel for the five cent piece; and copper for the cent.

There are six kinds of paper money used in the United States: gold certificates, silver certificates, treasury notes, United States notes, national bank notes, and federal reserve notes. It is not easy to carry gold and silver coins in large

amounts, so Congress, through a law, allows one to deposit such coins in the United States treasury and get certificates for the amount deposited. Between 1890 and 1893 the national government bought a great deal of silver and paid for it by issuing what are known as treasury notes. Very few of these now circulate as money.

While the Civil War was going on, it was difficult for the government to get enough money through taxes and loans to pay its expenses, so it issued United States notes, called "greenbacks," and made them legal tender (means persons must accept them in payment for debts). When they were first issued the government did not have gold and silver to give in exchange for them, and so we say there was nothing back of them except the government's promise. Now, however, the government backs them with gold. They are really a part of the national debt upon which no interest is paid.

Another way Congress had of raising money during the Civil War was by giving people the right to form national banks. In order to form these, banks had to buy United States bonds. This not only made a sale for more bonds, but was of advantage to the banks because they could issue paper money of nearly the amount of bonds they had bought (they can now issue up to the full amount), so we get the national bank notes. Federal reserve notes are issued under about the same conditions by the federal reserve banks.

Congress not only has the power to say what kinds of money shall be used, but it has power to get money through taxation, to carry on the work of the government. It can levy any kind of a tax except that on goods sent to a foreign country, called export duty. Though it may levy a direct tax, it has seldom done this (1) because the state and local governments tax in that way; (2) because Congress in collecting such a tax would have to apportion it among the states according to population (does not hold good with the income tax—see Amendment XVI, Const.). This would not

be fair because the same number of people do not always have the same amount of property as an equal number somewhere else.

Congress now raises money in three main ways: taxes on imports, that is, on goods coming into the United States; internal revenue taxes, usually called excises (levied mostly on goods manufactured and offered for sale in the United States); income taxes. The taxes on imports (often called imposts) are levied according to two rates, specific and ad valorem. The specific rate is not levied according to the value; the ad valorem is. As an example, the specific rate on a yard of any kind of silk goods might be 15 cents a yard, while the ad valorem rate would be according to the value of each yard.

If you ever notice the stamps on a cigar box or bottle of perfume, you have a reminder of an internal revenue tax. In order to collect both these and the income taxes, the whole United States is divided into internal revenue districts.

The largest amount of national revenue in the last few years has come from the tax on incomes. If a person has an income of \$1000 or less he is not taxed on this. If a person is married, he needs to pay an income tax only on what the income is above \$2000, with also a \$200 exemption for each child under 18 years of age. The rate on these smaller incomes is two per cent. On the larger incomes the rates run from 4 to 65 per cent.

Except in case of war or a great undertaking like the Panama Canal, taxes meet the expenses of the government. Especially in time of war, when a great deal of money has to be spent, it is necessary to borrow money. Congress has the power to borrow money in any amounts. Largely because of the Great War the United States is now in debt perhaps twenty billions of dollars.

All money taken in by the national government must be paid into its treasury, and no money can be paid out until

it is appropriated by Congress. The expenses of our national government are now very large, several billions of dollars each year. Congress has realized of late that greater care should be taken in the raising and especially in spending money, and, accordingly in June, 1921, passed a "Budget and Accounting Act" (For brief clear account of this see Woodburn and Moran, *Citizen and the Republic*, p. 303).

Have you ever been around a railroad station and noticed where things were being shipped to? You will nearly always find that something is being sent outside Missouri; if to another state, it is an instance of interstate commerce; if to a foreign country, it is one of foreign commerce. There needs to be uniform rules about both foreign and interstate commerce. Congress is given the power to make all these rules. In its control of foreign commerce, Congress makes rules on such things as immigration, the coming of foreigners into the United States, duties on imports, and health regulations.

Up until about 1890 Congress passed few laws concerning interstate commerce. Since that time it has passed many. One of the most important laws it passed provided for an interstate commerce commission of seven members appointed by the President. This commission has a great deal to do with commerce carried on by the railroads.

In carrying on commerce, correct weights and measures are very important. Congress has the power to establish a system for the whole United States, but it has not used this power very much, so the states look after most of these matters. Congress has passed a law permitting the use of the metric system, but it does not have to be used, and you know it isn't very much.

Another important commercial as well as social matter over which Congress has complete control in making laws is that of the post office. It is the greatest one business which the government conducts, but it generally pays its own way.

It is not the intention to make a profit but to furnish a good yet cheap service to all the people.

Another matter of business and commerce over which Congress has control concerns patents and copyrights. "A patent gives to one who makes a new invention the exclusive right for a limited period to manufacture and sell it. Congress has fixed this period at seventeen years. A copyright is a similar privilege which can be secured by one who has written a book, composed music, or produced a work of art. It gives to such a person the sole right to print or sell the article of which he is the author. The term of a copyright is twenty-eight years, but this may be renewed for another term of equal length" (Loeb, *Government in Missouri*, page 185).

In carrying on business and commerce persons often find they haven't enough money to pay their debts. If such persons turn over all they have to pay what they can on their debt, they are said to go into bankruptcy. Congress has the power to pass "uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States." For a long time Congress did not pass such laws, and so the states regulated the matter, but in 1898 Congress passed a bankruptcy law.

You see, now, many of the most important powers Congress has concern commerce and business. Some of these powers are full or complete, and some are shared by the states. It alone has the power to declare war with foreign countries, although we have seen how much power the President has here. It also makes rules to govern the land and naval forces. The Congress has full power, too, to make all laws governing the territories of the United States, the District of Columbia, and the Indian Reservations.

In only a few cases, however, has Congress the power to make laws regarding crimes. "It provides for the punishment of piracy and other crimes committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations. A citizen who ex-

gages in war against the United States or assists its enemies is guilty of treason. Congress provides the punishment for treason and also for counterfeiting, which is the crime of making coins or paper to circulate as money" (Loeb, Government in Missouri, p. 185).

"Quite a list of powers," you may say, should you think over all the things Congress may do. Since congressmen come from all parts of the United States, they naturally enough have many difference of opinion, and, just as in the state legislature, it is very hard for them sometimes to get together and pass an important law. Of course more interest is taken in the nomination and election of members of Congress than of members of the state legislature. The struggle for the nomination and election, especially if the state or congressional district is close politically, is not an easy one for those running.

Congress, different from our legislature, keeps a pretty complete record of what its members say in the two houses. In fact they really publish a daily record called the Congressional Record. Often it is not difficult to get the representative from your congressional district to send your school this Record. Should you get hold of it and read it, you will find parts of it very interesting. Certainly, should you ever go to Washington when Congress is in session, you will want to visit in each house and see them at work.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Name the United States senators from Missouri; the member of the house of representatives from your congressional district. Find out to which political party each one belongs, and what each did to make his living before he became a member of Congress.
2. Write to any one or all of the three men whom you have just named and ask them any questions about Congress. If possible, get one of them to speak in your school.

3. Explain what is meant by "a Congress," "long session," "short session."
4. Give an example of where Congress has exercise an "implied power." Name a "specified" power of Congress.
5. Make a list of five to ten powers which you think Congress should not have.
6. Do you see any reasons for there being two houses of Congress? If so, give them. State any reasons you can think of why there should be just one house of Congress.
7. Which do you think really has the more power, the senate or the house of representatives? Give reasons for your answer.

CHAPTER XV

THE NATIONAL JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

You will remember that we said in Chapter V that people often get into disputes about what a law means, about what their rights and duties are, and that we had courts to settle these matters. We have told the story of the courts of our state and have noticed that they spend most of their time deciding the meaning of state laws and what the rights and duties of people are under these laws. In fact most of the disputes we have are settled in the courts of the state. However, we have also noticed the many important laws of our national government, in the constitution of the United States, treaties between foreign countries and our own country, and the statutes made by Congress.

You would guess at once that there would be disputes over what the constitution, treaties, and statutes mean, and about what people's rights and duties are under these. And do you think it would be well to allow state courts to finally decide these matters? It would hardly seem wise since state courts are chosen by the people of one state and have plenty to do to look after the judicial work of that state. The makers of the constitution of the United States decided wisely that we should have national courts to look after disputes which affect the national government or more than one state.

Under the Confederation, just before our constitution was made, the settlement of nearly all disputes was left to the state courts. "If the Tories were to be restrained or restored to their estates; if debts due British merchants were to be collected; if our treaty agreements were to be enforced, or if any one robbed the mail, counterfeited money, or threatened Congress with violence, there were no national courts by which these things could be attended to or the

criminals brought to justice. The state courts had to be called on for assistance in carrying out the law, and these were often ineffective, as the states were not anxious to have the national powers asserted and increased. No influence has been more powerful for nationalization, for establishing and enlarging the powers of the national government, than the work of the judiciary in the operation of the national courts. The interpretation of the constitution by the courts, and the notable decisions of John Marshall (1801-1833) did more to reduce 'states rights' and to exalt national power than any other influence in the early history of the constitution, in the days when the new government was on trial in its experimental period." (Woodburn and Moran, *The Citizen and the Republic*, p. 337).

The constitution not only has an Article (Art. III) providing for national courts, but it says further (Art. VI, Sect. 2), "This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding." This is called the "law of the land" clause, and it means that if the law of any state does not agree with the constitution, treaties and laws of the United States, the state law will not hold good. So we sometimes speak of the "supremacy of the federal law." Hence if the people of a state pass a law or put in their constitution something that does not agree with the constitution of the United States, a law of Congress, or with a treaty, it is the business of the courts, if a dispute comes up before them, to declare the act of the state no law at all, or as the courts say, "declare it null and void."

Thus we see that the United States government not only has a Congress to make and an executive to enforce its laws,

but has its own courts to say what these laws mean and what are the rights and duties of people under these laws. These courts also say whether or not state laws conflict with national laws and if they do, they declare the state laws "null and void." In doing all these things our national courts act directly upon individuals and not through the state governments as under the old Confederation. Hence we can truly say that every citizen not only owes allegiance to his state but to the United States as well.

You will remember that there are several kinds of state courts. The national government has three main classes of courts: (1) The Supreme Court; (2) Circuit Courts of Appeal; (3) District Courts. Different from the judges in our state courts, who are elected by the voters and hold office a stated time, the members of the national courts are appointed by the President (during good behavior) with the consent of the senate. They can be removed only through impeachment proceedings. Although their salaries are fixed by a law of Congress, no one or more judges' salaries can be lowered while remaining in office.

We call the judges of the supreme court, justices. There are nine of these, the chief justice with a salary of \$15,000 a year, and eight justices with a salary of \$14,500. There are about thirty United States circuit judges and over one hundred district judges. The circuit judges get a salary of \$8,500 a year and the district judges one of \$7,500. Having appointment during good behavior and receiving a good living salary make it easy for these judges not to be influenced by party politics or by people who have a great deal of money. Many of the judges are relieved from worry about a living, when they leave the bench, for there is a law that a judge who has served at least ten years may retire at the age of seventy and keep on drawing his full salary for the rest of his life.

With a few exceptions, all cases in the national courts begin in the district courts and therefore we say they have *original jurisdiction* in most cases. Some cases are settled finally in the district courts; that is, they cannot be appealed to another court, but most any important case may be appealed to a circuit court of appeals of the United States, and in many cases may be appealed from a circuit court to the Supreme Court of the United States. Some cases which begin in state courts are taken from these courts to the United States courts. This is spoken of as transferring a case, and it may be done if a national law, treaty, or the constitution is being interpreted and if one of the parties in the suit questions the way the state court has decided the matter. Again, if a state court is interpreting a national law in a case and decides such law is "null and void," the case may be transferred to the national courts for final decision. Any suit, also, wholly between citizens of different states may be carried to the United States district courts.

Each court has its own seal, records, and helping officials. The Supreme Court appoints its own officials, the leading ones being a clerk and marshal. Each of the other courts appoints one or more clerks. The President appoints a marshal and attorney for each district. The marshal has about the same kind of duties in the national courts as does a sheriff in the state courts, while the attorney does about the same kind of work in these courts as a prosecuting attorney does in the state courts. All marshals and attorneys, as we have seen, act under the direction of the attorney-general of the United States as well as being helpers for the national judges.

We have seen that there are more than one hundred district judges. In each state there is at least one district court, while in the more populous states there are two or more districts. Generally each district is divided into several divisions and the district judge holds his court at one or more

places in each division. We have in Missouri an eastern and a western district. There are three divisions of the eastern district. The court holds sessions at Hannibal in the northern division, at St. Louis and Rolla in the eastern division, and at Cape Girardeau in southeastern division. There are five divisions of the western district. The court holds sessions at Jefferson City in the central division, Kansas City in the western division, Springfield in the southern division, Joplin in the southwestern division, and St. Joseph in the St. Joseph division.

"A large number of cases are not tried by judges, but each term of each district court requires the services of jurors. These jurors, both grand and petit, are publicly drawn from a box containing, at the time of the drawing, the names of not less than 300 persons possessing the necessary qualifications, and whose names are placed therein by the clerk of the court and a commissioner appointed by the judge. The commissioner is a citizen of good standing residing in the district where the court is held, and he is a well-known member of the principal political party opposing that to which the clerk of the court belongs. The clerk and the commissioner then proceed to place the names in the box, each of them putting in a name alternately without reference to party affiliations." (Haskin, *The American Government*, page 339).

These district courts have a great deal of work to do, so much in fact that the number of judges will likely be soon increased. It is usually considered a greater honor to serve as a district judge of the United States than to be a member of the Supreme Court of a state. In fact only recently a judge of the Missouri Supreme Court resigned to become a judge of the eastern district in Missouri.

We have noticed that many cases, after they have been tried in a district court, may be appealed to a higher court. This is usually a circuit court of appeals of the United

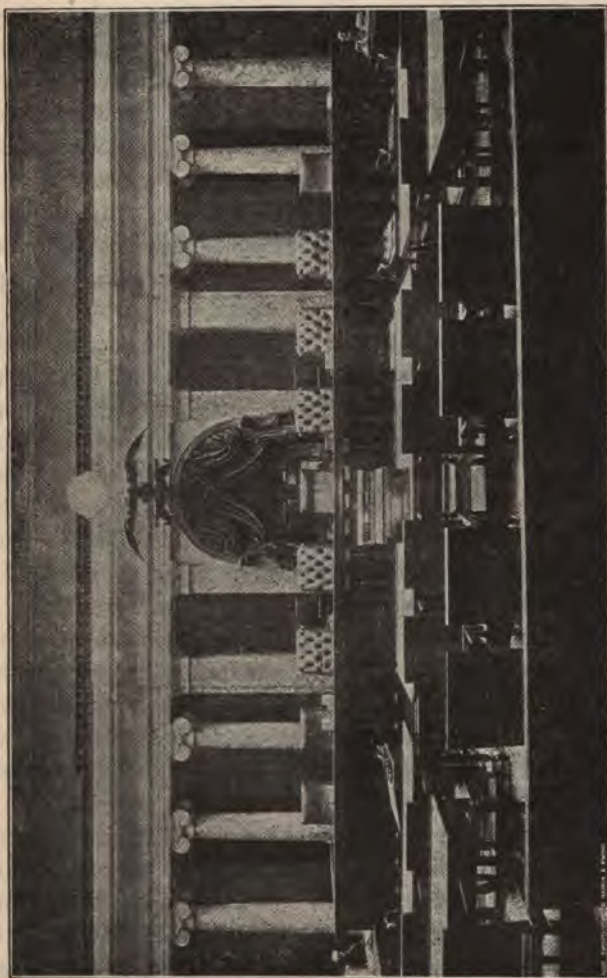
States which gives a final decision in most cases. The whole of the United States is divided into nine circuits and there is a circuit court of appeals for each circuit. One of these circuits has two judges, four of them three, two of them four, and two of them five. One of the judges of the Supreme Court is also assigned to each circuit, but he rarely helps try a case. He does, however, advise and consult with the judges of his circuit about carrying on their work. No jury is used in these courts. Usually these circuit judges hold the court, but the judge of any district in a circuit may act as one of the three. Missouri is in the eighth circuit. There are twelve other states in the circuit. Yearly sessions of this court are held at St. Louis, St. Paul, and Denver or Cheyenne. The judges of these courts are usually very busy men, though we do not hear about them often. Of course it is a still greater honor to be a member of one of these courts. Recently a United States senator resigned in order to become a national circuit judge.

Above all courts in power and influence is the Supreme Court of the United States. It may say that an act of the President, Congress, or of a state is unconstitutional, should such an act come before the court for decision. With a fairly good salary, appointment for life (the only way to remove is through impeachment proceedings and this has never been done), the judges are free from party battles and party duties. The court has often been criticised for its decisions, but most people believe the members of the court are honest and do what they really believe to be right. All the members of the court do not always agree on a decision, sometimes the vote is five to four—but this is not strange when we think of their coming from different parts of the United States and therefore may stand for different opinions.

"The Supreme Court holds its annual sessions from October to June, with recesses at Christmas and Easter, and

at such other times as the consideration of cases which have been heard requires it. When the court is in session its members go to the Capitol every day in the week except Sunday. Five days are devoted to the handing down of opinions and the hearings of cases, Saturday being set aside as a consultation day. Opinions are handed down on Mondays. The court convenes at twelve o'clock noon. Its quarters are in the Capitol building, the court room being across the hall from the robing and consultation rooms, and is the room which was formerly the senate chamber of the United States. Promptly upon the stroke of twelve a passageway across the corridor which leads from the House to the Senate is roped off with silken cords and the court, headed by the chief justice and followed by the others in the order of their appointment, marches out of the robing rooms, across the corridor, and into the court room. Here everybody arises while the marshal announces the court and the clerk calls out in his familiar, 'O, yez! O, yez!' and announces that the court is now in session and all persons having business before it will draw near and give attention. The justices sit at a high desk, the chief justice in the middle, and the others to his right and left in the order of their appointment. Their robes hang in the robing room in the same order that they march in and they sit around the consultation table in their chambers in the same way.

"The justices wear gowns of black silk or like material. When the court was organized, the question arose as to how its members should be dressed. Some thought they should wear the mortar-board cap of a scholar, some the garb of a Roman senator, some the attire of a priest, and others the wig and gown of the English purists. When Thomas Jefferson expressed his opinion on the subject he exclaimed: 'For Heaven's sake discard the monstrous wig which makes the English judges look like rats peeping through bunches of oakum.'



UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT CHAMBER, CAPITOL BUILDING,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

"Until a few years ago the Supreme Court met at twelve and adjourned at four o'clock. The justices would withdraw one at a time to eat their lunch behind the scenes, and the attorney addressing the court could often attune his speech to the rattle of the dishes, while perhaps the very justice to whom he was most anxious to address his argument was regaling himself with a dozen fried oysters. This practice would have continued indefinitely had not a new member come along and insisted that they adopt the plan of adjourning for lunch and carrying the session further into the evening. (Haskin, *The American Government*, page 327).

It would interest you to see the Supreme Court at work on a case. They first hear the attorneys on each side make their statements. Were you sitting in the room listening and watching the court while these attorneys were speaking, you might think the judges were paying little attention, but let one of the attorneys make a mistake and some one of the judges will call his attention to the matter. The justices sometimes have their fun. A good example is given by Mr. Haskin (page 331). "Some years ago a case involving a patent collar button was pending. While the attorney was engaged in arguing it, one of the justices asked him if he understood him to say that 'if the button fell out of a man's shirt as he was dressing and rolled under the bed, the owner could recover it without swearing.' The attorney replied that no such button was possible of invention.

"After a case is argued in the Supreme Court, its members take the printed briefs to their homes and read them. There are a large number of these briefs to be read, and often a single case involves a stupendous amount of study if the members of the court are to become perfectly familiar with it. Saturdays being set aside for conference days, the members of the court meet in the conference room and discuss the cases fully and freely. A friend of one of the jus-

tices once asked him what they did in the conference room. He replied that they fought like cats and dogs. Of course, this was overdrawing the picture, but the average justice is a man of great strength of mind and force of character, and therefore tenacious of his views and it is not to be wondered that these discussions sometimes become heated and prolonged. After every justice has expressed his opinion as fully as he cares to, the chief justice calls the roll of the court and each member votes upon the question of adverse or a favorable decision. After this the chief justice assigns to the members of the court the cases upon which they are to write their opinions. Later these opinions are brought in by the members writing them and laid before the whole court. Here again they argue the case, criticize the opinion and often amend it so much that it has little semblance to its original form. The court again by a roll call votes upon the question of whether it shall be read as the opinion of the court or not. If there is a dissenting vote on any case, those who dissent arrange among themselves as to who shall write the dissenting opinion. Sometimes the grounds upon which different justices dissent vary, so that there may be one or more dissenting opinions handed down" (Haskin, *The American Government*, page 331).

These opinions are printed and published in volumes known as the Supreme Court Reports of the United States. There are a few lawyers throughout our state who have these reports in their offices. In the room where the court has its hearings, it is very quiet and solemn. Visitors are allowed to come in at all times as long as there is room for them to be seated. "There are very often touches of interest in the course of a day's sitting. When Chief Justice Fuller was still on the bench, he and Associate Justice Harlan were quite chummy. Upon one occasion Justice Harlan leaned over and whispered something to the Chief Justice, and they both began to laugh, for all the world like two

small boys in school having a hard battle to keep from laughing aloud. Chief Justice Fuller was very fond of his grandchildren, and upon one occasion had a little granddaughter sit on his lap while he was presiding in the Supreme Court." (Haskin, page 333).

Like the circuit courts of appeals, the Supreme Court has no jury of any sort to assist in its work. Most of the cases it hears have been tried in some other court, although it may try some cases from the first; these are matters affecting ambassadors and consuls and to which a state is party. Another way to put it is that in such cases the Supreme Court has *original* jurisdiction; that is, jurisdiction, or power to try the case from its beginning. In other cases we speak of its having *appellate jurisdiction*.

When the Supreme Court was first organized it was nearly a year before it had a case before it. Now it is very hard for it to keep up with its work. In the beginning of its work, it was not thought to be such a great honor to be a member of this court. Chief Justice Jay resigned in order to accept a state office. Now membership on this court is considered one of the greatest honors which can come to any one. It is a position of vast power. The Supreme Court is not only the greatest judicial body in our country, but with little question the greatest in the world.

There are two other national courts of considerable importance, the Court of Claims and the Court of Customs Appeals. A person cannot sue the United States, but may make a claim against it in the Court of Claims. It looks after all claims against the national government except those growing out of the Civil War and pensions. It gets facts and makes investigations, so that if it says the United States really owes a claim, Congress may satisfy it by making an appropriation. This court has five judges and holds an annual session beginning on the same day Congress starts its regular session and lasting until it has no more business.

The Court of Customs Appeals also has five judges. It is required to be open at all times for business. It hears cases of appeal from custom officials, that is, those who collect our import duties. In most of such cases it has the final say so.

Through the work of its courts, the national government reaches every nook and corner of the United States. Most people, no doubt, think well of these courts. They settle many disputes and say in many cases what our rights and duties are, but of course do not come as closely to nearly as many people as do the state courts. You will want to know a little more about what kind of disputes they settle, or just how far their powers go. Most of the powers are those which a state court could not very well exercise. Let us name and describe briefly the main ones.

It is very easy for two states to have a dispute over something, such as boundaries. You can see at once why a national court should handle this matter. The United States might bring a suit against a person, as in the matter of ownership of land. Again a national court will be needed. Then, two citizens, each living in a different state, may have a dispute. Each one might think a court in the other state would be partial, and the need again for a national court. If, too, the dispute has to do with a law of Congress, a treaty of the United States, or its Constitution, it would seem only right that the national courts should be called upon again. Such matters are concerned with every power of Congress and the Executive which we have discussed.

As the the powers of our national government become more numerous and the people of the different states have closer and closer relations, we may expect the powers of the national courts to increase rather than grow less. We should think of them as our courts, just as we do those of the state, and all work hard to get the best possible judges for them.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Who is the judge of the federal district court in the part of Missouri where you live? Write him a letter asking if his work has increased or decreased any during the last few years, and to state why.
 2. Find out, if possible, whether or not some one in your neighborhood has not served on a federal jury. Get him to tell you about his experiences.
 3. If you live in a town where one of the national courts holds its sessions, be sure and visit the court and watch it work.
 4. Describe how federal juries are chosen.
 5. Do you think a national court should have the power to declare laws "null and void?" Give your reasons.
 6. Describe the kind of men you think should be members of the Supreme Court of the United States.
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CHAPTER XVI

SOME IMPORTANT PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Like the state government, the national government has great need for a constitution and we can hardly think of either government running well without the three departments to enforce, make and interpret the laws, but the people with their many needs are more important than the government which serves them. As we find out new things and change our ways of living, new problems are sure to arise. Some problems are constantly before the national government, however. One of these which we may say is always with us is that of raising and spending money. Almost every day you can hear someone grumbling about paying taxes and saying that the government is wasting money. Much of what is said may not be true but the political party leaders, especially in the executive and legislative departments watch very closely what is said and done about the raising and spending of money. Some of these leaders are afraid that when the next election comes around they will lose their positions, others, believing the people are burdened with taxes, wish to do something to relieve them. The Great War has left us a large national debt. On June 30, 1921, the total of this debt was \$23,977,450,552. The taxes levied to pay the interest and some of the principal of this debt have been so heavy that business has been hindered. When we think of the interest alone on this debt being nearly a billion dollars a year, it is hard to see how national taxes will be reduced very much for sometime to come.

During the year which ended June 30, 1921, the national government spent \$5,115,927,689 and received in revenue from all sources \$5,324,932,960. You see there was a

balance of more than half a billion, but the last week before the year ended the expenses of the national government amounted to about \$40,000,000 a day. During that same year, the national government borrowed nearly nine billions but it paid off debts amounting to more than it borrowed. Now if the national government takes from the people, in taxes each year, such great sums, there should be some good come from it and this good should come to all alike. The money should be spent honestly and be made to go as far as possible.

It is hard to be fair and just to all in taxing people but there are certain things we may always keep before us—first, every tax must be for public purposes; second, taxes should be reasonable and should not amount to more than can be paid; third, the same class of tax payers and tax paying property should be treated alike. Do as well as the government may there will likely be, as there always has been in the past, many disputes over taxation. It was such a dispute more than any other which helped bring on the American Revolution. When this war was over, the people of the states wanted to keep this taxing power to themselves so they did not allow Congress, under the Articles of Confederation, to levy any taxes on the people of the states. It was one of the great weaknesses of the Confederation that not enough money could be raised to run the national government so, when the Constitution was made, Congress was given power to levy and collect taxes in most any way that it saw fit (There are a few limitations, e. g., no export duty can be levied).

In reading about the powers of Congress, we have noticed the kinds of taxes the national government levies, but there are many different opinions about national taxes, just the same, so many, in fact, that we must see what some of them are in order to get hold of our problem. Some hold that every kind of property should be taxed alike and at the

same rate; some think, for purposes of taxing it, property should be grouped into different classes and that the same rate should be levied for each class, but that there might be a different rate for each class. This idea is seen in the rates the national government places on incomes. The larger the incomes, the higher the rates. Do you think this is right? Most people who have studied the question a great deal think it is right and believe fully in the statement that "each should pay according to his means."

The old idea used to be that one should pay taxes according to the benefits he gets from the government. This really meant that if he had much property to protect he should pay much; if he had a small amount of property, he should pay little. But the main duty of government is not just to protect property. Whether a person be rich or poor much of his happiness or opportunity to do things depend a great deal upon good government. For his peace and comfort, the national along with the state and local government keeps law and order, looks after the public health, helps the public schools and does many other things which have little to do with the mere protection of property. We cannot say just how much benefit the government is to people in these many ways but we can say that all these benefits, and they are very great, should come to all alike whatever taxes each may pay.

If it is fair and just that "each should pay taxes according to his means" and the benefits of government through these taxes, should come to all alike, it is equally fair and just that great care should be taken in not only what the money is used for but how it is used. As an example, the national government appropriated, during and after the war, many millions of dollars to help sick and disabled soldiers. Everybody would agree that this was a fine thing to do. But suppose executive officers who are carrying out the law wasted much of this in what is known

as "overhead expenses" (One of these officers was heard to remark that by stopping the sending of so many telegrams and sending special delivery letters instead that his force saved many hundreds of dollars during a few months time).

During most of our history, we have been such a wealthy and growing country that our national government has been careless and wasteful both in the raising and spending of money. One prominent United States Senator said a few years ago that the national government wasted \$300,000,000 a year. With the burden of the great war debt upon us, a number of political leaders and nearly all keen minded people who work on these problems have decided that the national government needs what is known as a budget system (Write to the Bureau of Municipal Research, New York City, and ask about their bulletins on this system). A budget may be called a plan for financing a government for a certain length of time. To work out such a plan, expenses and income must be carefully figured out showing both where increases and decreases should be made. Such a plan should always be worked out by an executive official who knows what he is doing and who can be held responsible.

Once such a plan is made, it should be placed before Congress for its approval and considered in each house by just one legislative committee. You see, the budget maker must estimate both the government needs and its resources. In order to do this, the officials who run the departments must make reports of their needs. What is known as an accounting system should go along with the budget in order to know whether or not the plan has been lived up to both in the raising and spending of money. The idea of the budget system is to find a way by which the President and Congress "may consider and act together on a definite business and financial program; to bring the several departments of the government and the financial committees of

Congress into harmony and under one leadership in deciding how much money to ask for, how it shall be raised and how the money shall be spent. It is hoped by the budget system the government may be able to secure *economy* and *efficiency* by bringing the business of devising a plan for raising and spending money under one responsible business head, like the President and his Cabinet, and not under forty different committees working at cross purposes. Many business firms are so conducted that they oversee the income and outgo in a sensible and businesslike way" (Woodburn and Moran, *The Citizen and the Republic*, page 303).

For many years, every President has been in favor of such a system. In 1920, the House of Representatives changed its rules so that it would not have such a large number of committees dealing with finances. In 1921 a budget law was passed. This act makes the President responsible for submitting to Congress a report showing (1) what was the income and outgo of the government during the last year (this is known as the fiscal year, it begins on July 1, and ends June 30) and what he thinks will be the income or outgo of the year during which he is making his report; (2) what condition the treasury was in at the end of the last fiscal year and its estimated condition at the end of the year in progress; (3) what should be done to raise the revenue and meet the needs of the government during the year to come; (4) report any other facts which he thinks Congress should have in working out its financial plans.

You see the President may become the general manager in a great business. Everybody in the national government wishing to get money to spend must ask him about the matter. He can change what they ask for in any way he thinks fit. Therefore he alone is responsible to Congress.

Congress knew that the President would need help in preparing the budget so they provided for a "Bureau of the

Budget." It is the business of this bureau to study the reports handed in by the department heads and others. It has the duty, too, of studying the way the work of the government is carried on in order to save money and help the officials to be more efficient. This bureau is in the treasury department, but it is responsible to the President directly.

This new law also provides for an independent accounting office with a Director of the Budget at its head. This director is appointed for fifteen years and may be reappointed (He may be removed by impeachment proceedings or by a joint resolution of Congress). It is the business of the director to give information to Congress and to find out how its orders and laws about spending money are carried out. Congress will have the chance, therefore, to get facts from a person who is not controlled by a political party. The Director of the Budget estimates that through the budget system the national government has saved during the fiscal year 1922, \$250,000,000. Congress has found out these facts, before this time, through what are known as investigating committees. These have often been influenced in what they do by political parties. You may be interested enough in how your national government raises and spends its money to write one of the Missouri Congressmen and ask him a few questions about the matter.

Most of us are proud of our country and we have a right to be. We have a chance to do many more things and develop ourselves better than most of the people of the world. These facts have become known in other lands and so millions have come here from these lands to live and become citizens of the United States. We call those who come immigrants. During the years from 1870 to 1910 over 20,000,000 of immigrants entered our country. In 1910, about thirty-five per cent of our population were either of foreign birth or foreign parentage. During the War, immigration

fell off a great deal, but since the war foreigners are coming here to stay at about the rate of 400,000 a year.

It is not an easy matter to take that many people, most of them speaking a different language and having different ways of living, and make them a part of us. There are a number of other objections raised to their coming in such great numbers. One is the wish to keep the labor market from being over crowded. A large part of those who come are what are called unskilled laborers. Few of them go to the farms. Labor organizations say they are influenced to come here by the ship companies who wish to carry them and the factory owners who wish to bring down the price of labor. Another reason for objecting to their coming is the kind of people who come. In earlier years, most of the immigrants came from England, Germany, Ireland, Scandinavia and the north of Europe. Over eighty per cent of them now come from southern and eastern Europe or western Asia. These are Slavs, Greeks, Italians, Russian Jews, Hungarians, Slovaks, Poles, and Croations, and many others not very closely related to us in either race or language. These people too often want to live in groups among themselves, especially in the large cities. So we hear in the larger cities of "a little Greece," and "a little Italy." In living in this way, will they learn our language, our customs and be real Americans? In New York City alone there are said to be more than 250,000 foreigners who either cannot read nor write, or who cannot speak the English language.

Some argue that we should keep all immigrants out until we absorb what we have. Others say that the problem can be solved by being careful about the kind of people we allow to come in. We now have laws which say that the immigrant must be of good character, free from disease, sound in mind, self supporting, opposed to violence and able to read (The reading tests are taken from the Bible, since it is about the only book which is printed in every tongue).

Thousands of people born in this country could not meet these tests and only a small per cent of the immigrants fail to pass them. It is likely, therefore, that we need to enforce the laws we have, while not wanting a "wide open" country, we should welcome the worthy immigrant.

"In considering the problem of immigration, we should not forget the great benefits our country has received from honest, law-abiding, industrious immigrants. We are all the children of immigrants, a generation or two removed. The sturdy immigrants have helped to build and develop America. Without their labor, the work could not have been done. They have been a source of great wealth to the country. It has been estimated that the cost of rearing a child in the United States is fully \$1200. That expense has been met in case of nearly every immigrant by the land of his birth. The great bulk of our immigrants are between fourteen and forty-five years of age, within the years of greatest industrial productivity. The labor of the more than ten million foreign born who were here in America in 1910 has added fully \$600,000,000 yearly to the wealth of the country. These immigrants are engaged in doing the heavy and dangerous work of the country,—in mines, sewers, ditches, buildings, and road construction and factories (Woodburn and Moran, *The Citizens and the Republic*—page 75). That immigrants should be Americanized by learning the English language and understanding something about our government and their duties as citizens is unquestioned.

There are other problems which the national government has to solve connected with such matters as conservation, or taking care of our natural resources, the public health, the care of sick and disabled soldiers and the enforcement of the prohibition amendment but none is more important than the problem connected with capital and labor. It takes both capital and labor to produce the many things we need. There is a constant dispute between capital and

labor about how much each should get for producing these things.

"Large numbers of workmen have formed unions to protect their interests. Some of these are wisely led by thoughtful people; some are foolishly led by those who think force can succeed in a republic where there are laws, courts and organized authority. It is dangerous to the peace of the community to confuse these different kinds of unions. If the first kind is not dealt with reasonably, the working men of the country will think that the government of the country is against them and is in the hands of the special interests, when it really is not. They may join unions which rely on the use of force. Even the wiser ones sometimes resort to the strike in order to make the public take time to examine their rights. If the government is well organized, we may be able to find some way of examining differences between workmen and employers without any strikes. Some students of the subject believe that the government should provide laws which will require both sides to compromise their difficulties through a court of arbitration. But all students do not feel sure that this is the best plan. All of us must patiently work to find out how justice can be done and all of us must obey the laws until we can change them without resort to violence.

"Employers also form large combinations to protect themselves against unwise trade unions. Some of these combinations are wise and others are not. The unwise ones try to use the government unfairly and corrupt the makers of law so that the owners of property may secure more than their just share of the world's goods. They do not realize that a wise government and law are the only safe protection to property against a majority of thoughtless people; and that if they use the government corruptly they will ruin it by breaking down our confidence in the republic. There are not many such capitalists, but a few of them can do all

of us much harm if we do not understand them and make wise laws to curb them" (Dawson, *Organized Self-Government*, page 282).

So powerful are these organizations of labor and capital that there is sometimes a fear that not even the national government can control them. Now by far the largest part of the people belong to neither of these organizations and of course have rights which need to be protected. It is very likely that the national government will have to do more and more as the years pass by, in settling the disputes between capital and labor. In order to do this fairly and justly, the national government should be better organized and should have the very best men and women to help out. Hardly any more important problem can be thought of than that concerned with our relations with other countries. So important is it that it deserves a whole chapter.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. What is meant by the "budget system?"
2. Do you believe all property should be taxed alike? Give your reasons.
3. What is meant by the Americanization of immigrants?
4. Give the advantages and disadvantages of having many immigrants to this country?
5. Do you think the national government should have anything to do with settling the disputes between capital and labor? Give your reasons.
6. Read a newspaper for several days and see if the national government has other problems than those mentioned in this chapter.

CHAPTER XVII

OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

It has been only a short time since the Great War was over. Every few days you may hear of some soldier boy's body being brought home and laid to rest. It makes us all feel sad to know that he had to give up his life. We would do anything we could to show his family and friends that we appreciated what he did and would be very kind to all who suffer because of his death. But nothing that we can do will bring him back. And his death, with thousands of others, may cause us to ask the question, "Why do we have war, and cannot something be done to do away with it?" Little can be done to do away with war unless we understand its causes.

To know these causes and to try to do something to do away with them are tasks which the national government must always keep before it, since no other government than the national deals with foreign affairs. Now war is usually thought of as the use of force among nations; hence it is a question of foreign relations. But the national government cannot solve the questions of war and peace unless we understand something of what these questions mean. For the voters choose not only the most important persons in the executive and legislative departments, they influence these persons a great deal in their actions. As an example, if a majority of the voters thought war was a good thing, they would likely elect persons to office who thought the same thing. Of course most of the people and the officials in the United States think war is a bad thing and should be prevented, if possible. But how many of us understand the real reasons for war?

It has often been said that there is plenty of room for all the people who live on the earth if they were distributed

or scattered out properly, and that there is plenty of things produced in the world each year for all to have a good living if these things were properly distributed. As we now live on the earth, some parts of it are so crowded with people that it is very hard for them to get enough to eat and wear and to have a shelter over their heads. We have said that if the same number of people lived on each square mile of land in Missouri, there would be about fifty (For the whole United States about thirty). If the people of Japan were distributed in the same way in their country, there would be about four hundred. If the Japanese people were making their living by hunting and fishing on the amount of land they have, it would only be a short time before most of them would starve; if they were a pastoral people, living off their flocks and herds, they would get along somewhat better but not much; if they were an agricultural people, living off the soil, they could get along still better, but yet many of them would starve. The reason the Japanese get along as well as they do is because they are an industrial people, and therefore make many things which they sell to other people. Japan has a population of at least 55,000,000, and they are increasing at the rate of over 500,000 each year.

In order to be an industrial people they must get what is known as raw material, such as coal, iron, cotton, oil, copper and rubber, for it takes these to make the many goods other peoples want. We have a plenty of most raw materials in the United States, but the Japanese have not, so they must depend upon other countries for these. They are a hard-working, keen-minded, energetic people, and no wonder they wish to get raw materials from China and Siberia, for neither China nor Siberia are making much use of their great storehouses of raw material, and they both have weak governments. There are other strong nations besides Japan who wish to do the same things Japan does in the weak countries. What we call the capitalists of these strong coun-

tries go into weak and backward countries to get raw material and take them to their own countries to manufacture. Once manufactured they then try to sell them in these very same weak and backward countries. As you would expect the capitalists from these several nations often quarrel with each other and ask the governments at home to help them out. It is very important to these capitalists to have means, through good harbors or railroads, of getting on to the sea and also to have freedom of going and coming on the seas. The more over-populated a strong nation is today, the more its people will struggle for raw material, markets, and the highways leading to and from raw materials and markets. So strong does this struggle become that war may result any time. We may therefore say that over-population, struggle for raw materials and markets (especially in weak and backward countries), the highways both on land and sea, and certain kinds of capitalists who care more for making money than having peace—all five of these are important causes of war. The United States is not over-populated, and in most ways we have an abundance of raw materials and great highways of trade, but we have numbers of selfish capitalists and we manufacture more than we need for ourselves, and so seek markets in other countries. We are, so to speak, "fortunately situated". But Japan, Italy, Germany, Russia, England, in fact most of the great nations of the world are struggling for what are sometimes known as the "pawns of power".

You can see at once that the selfish capitalists at least would try to get their own governments to think and do the same way they do about investments, raw materials, and markets in weak and backward countries. They have gone so far in many instances as to urge and sometimes get their governments at home to make war on the inhabitants of weak countries, and to get control of them politically. A few nations, like Germany, have dreamed of conquering and

getting control of as many countries as possible, both weak and strong. This dream of controlling as many people as possible, not only through getting raw materials, markets, highways, ports, and making investments, but also governing other peoples, is often called imperialism. Since all great nations have had such a dream, you would expect them to have trouble, and so, in case after case, imperialism has been a cause of war. It would be a dangerous thing should imperialists get control of our relations with foreign countries.

The selfish capitalist and imperialist often feel that the only way they can do what they want to do is through force, so their desire for a rather large army and their close connection with people who make the things (usually called armaments) used in war. Those who are constantly preaching "preparedness" through a large army and great factories to produce armaments are usually called militarists, and so we speak of militarism as a cause of war. The militarists see in the actions of nearly every country, in its foreign relations, a reason for war. What they do and say appeal not only to some of the people who make armaments, but also to certain kinds of leaders in the army and navy who wish to see their force tried out in war. So the militarists may be said to be made up of those political leaders who have little faith and so fear foreign countries and think the final way of settling troubles between nations is through force, the makers of munitions of war, and what are known as the professional leaders in the army and navy who wish to try their machines out.

You can see the urge on people who are crowded so closely together as the Japanese are, and who are not welcome settlers in many other countries, to get raw materials, markets, and highways of commerce. No wonder the selfish capitalist, imperialist, and militarist can make a strong appeal to them. Save in the case of so much crowding that a nation is facing starvation, would it likely go to war be-

cause of any reason we have mentioned or combination of these reasons, if most of the people understood the selfishness of many of these forces? But every important nation has its own customs, manners, ways of doing things, literature, art, and its own thoughts of the past and dreams of the future. Many times the whole nation will take so much pride in these things of its own that it is hard to get such a nation to see that other nations may have like feelings about themselves. This pride is so strong in most of the nations that each tries at least to be very independent of every other nation. So we often hear the words, this "sovereign and independent" nation will do so and so. These feelings of pride in the things we have mentioned, independence, sovereignty (really means power of a nation to do as it pleases) may be spoken of as nationalism.

Now nationalism is a good thing unless it goes too far. But it often goes too far. And it goes too far in any nation when that nation feels so much pride in itself that it cannot see that other nations have rights and feelings of pride too, and that these rights and feelings should be respected. You may have seen a boy or girl who acted, around you, as if to say, "I can do as I please; I am strong; I can run faster than any one else; I am better looking; I have better clothes; what you do doesn't matter to me; I can't learn anything from you." Whenever a nation gets to feeling something of the same way, you can see at once a cause for war. This is sometimes called rampant nationalism, or nationalism gone wild. Germany had such nationalism before the Great War.

This kind of nationalism easily grows into what is sometimes called a "false philosophy of life." You may have known people who thought they were better and knew more than anybody around them, and still were willing to let other people go their own way. But there are people who do not stop at that; they wish to compel other people to think and act as they do. Whenever people or a nation get to thinking that

way, they have a "false philosophy of life". Most any nation can get to following a false philosophy of life, especially if the other causes of war mentioned are in play.

Many of the relations between nations are carried on in secret. We hear in the history of many countries about secret treaties, secret agreements, secret understandings. All these secret matters cause nations to get suspicious of others and may help any time to bring on war. The levying of too high a tariff or making the tariff rate different for one country over another sometimes has the same effect.

War has sometimes been called the "scourge of mankind." It is hard to think of anything much worse. There are many things nations do which do not in the least interfere with other nations. For years the English made better saws than other people; the French raised the best kind of work horses; the Swiss made the best watches; and the Italians painted the most beautiful pictures. Each one of these nations had its own kind of government and each had as much right as the other to travel on the high seas. Now, whenever one nation interferes with another in such things as we have just mentioned, we say it is interfering with the other's freedom. Germany, for example, tried to keep us from traveling freely, and interfered with our commerce on the high seas. She also tried to divide us and interfered with what our government was doing within our own country. We may therefore say that the desire to keep, get, or take away freedom is a cause of war. For a nation to lose its freedom is worse than war. Going to war to get or keep freedom is thought by many to be the only good reason for war. It is a fact that in every war in which the United States has taken part, with the possible exception of the Mexican War, this has been a cause. As a people we have always been sympathetic with those who fought for freedom's sake.

In the past there were other important causes of war, such as the religious rivalry among royal families, the love of fighting; but these are not very important today. An over-crowded population, struggle for raw materials, markets, and great highways, selfish capitalism, imperialism, militarism, nationalism, a false philosophy of life, and struggle for freedom—these are the most important causes of war today.

A few years ago, just as the Great War was closing, a father of two boys was heard to say: "One of my boys is just being mustered out. He got through with only a slight wound, and I am very thankful. My other boy is only ten. I think I see the main causes of war, but I see no way of doing away with them, and I am very much afraid that my ten year-old boy will have to go into the next war." Many sincere, honest, thoughtful people feel as this father did. Others have more hope and are doing everything they can to do away with the causes of war. Some people do not know that for hundreds of years nations have been working out rules which they follow most of the time in their relations with each other.

These rules have been worked out in a number of ways: (1) through custom and usage; (2) treaties to which nearly if not all states have agreed; (3) acts of executives and legislative departments in the relation of countries to each other; (4) writers on international law who say what international law means; (5) certain acts of great conferences, like the Hague Conferences. These are known as the main sources of international law.

Should a law of the State of Missouri or the United States be disobeyed, there is some one to both interpret and enforce it. There is no one to interpret and enforce international law except as each nation is willing to do so. Both England and the United States look upon international law as a part of their own law, and so enforce it. The only way

one nation has of compelling another to obey international law is through war. "Although these rules are only a set of usages and customs, yet nations, as a rule, recognize them as law and in a spirit of good will and fair dealing usually act upon them and observe them" (Woodburn and Moran, *Citizen and the Republic*, page 380).

It is not too much to say that international law is a very helpful influence in keeping down war. It plays a great part in the work of our diplomatic and consular services. Another way of trying to settle international disputes and deal with the causes of war is through congresses or conferences. There have been many of these, from those in the seventeenth century down to the one held at Genoa in 1922. Some of them, like the Congress of Berlin in 1878, left the deeper causes of war untouched, but the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 were more encouraging. A court was created to *arbitrate* disputes between nations and this has done some real good. Then it was a fine thing to have representatives from all over the world get together and talk over their troubles. They get acquainted and understand each other better. The newspapers and magazines pay a great deal of attention to these conferences. The Washington Conference which began in November, 1921, and lasted for several months, received a great deal of attention; so did the Genoa Conference, which started its meetings in the spring of 1922. The Washington Conference made some important agreements about reducing naval forces and also about the Pacific island possessions of the great nations.

Another means which nations have of settling their disputes is through *arbitration*. Most nations have made treaties, called arbitration treaties, in which they agree to settle certain kinds of disputes by arbitration. The bodies which arbitrate are generally called arbitral tribunals. Such a tribunal was worked out at one of the Hague Conferences and another has been worked out by the League of Nations.

The kinds of disputes they settle are called *justiciable*, that is, those on which there is a rule of international law or a disagreement about what the facts are. Arbitral tribunals have settled many disputes by finding out the facts and saying what the settlement should be (the "Alabama" Claims arbitration at Geneva in 1871 is a good case). They have helped bring about good will among nations and no doubt in some cases prevented war.

But there are disputes concerning which you will find no international law, so still another method has been used—that of conciliation, or mediation. The idea in this method is for some third nation friendly to all the nations disputing to take a part. It has been used with success, though it is sometimes hard to find a nation friendly to all. When there is formed a conciliation council to settle disputes which cannot be settled by the diplomats or by arbitration, it tries to find out the facts and suggest ways of settlement. This takes time and so allows the nations to cool off. It causes each state to say on what grounds it is a mind to go to war. In talking over the disputes, all nations have time to form their own opinions and to influence their governments. Conciliation gives a better chance to give up certain things, since the yielding is to a nation or nations not in the dispute.

You now see that relations among nations are carried on through diplomacy, arbitration, and conciliation. Another way nations have of carrying on their relations, and especially protecting themselves against stronger nations than themselves, is through alliances. In an alliance each nation within it generally promises to help the other if attacked by some other nation outside the alliance. Some of these alliances have been helpful, especially those among smaller nations, but alliances among strong nations, such as the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance (1914) likely made quite as much for war as peace.

So nations have not reached peace through diplomacy, arbitration, conciliation, alliances—although each has been helpful. A number of people see the faults of all these means of doing away with war and wonder why there could not be what is known as a super-state, that is, copying after the government of the United States, have a federation of all states in the world with world executive, legislative, and judicial departments. But the more a person examines this plan, the more it is seen to be impossible now. But could there not be a combination of all nations pledged against war and to use every possible means to keep from war? Would each nation be willing to forget about its "sovereignty and independence" long enough to try to settle its disputes in a peaceful way? Such a combination of nations could begin by using still further arbitration and conciliation. They could agree to use one of these means of trying to settle every dispute they had.

Such a combination should be composed of a large number of nations, so large in fact that no one nation or union of several nations would be stronger than it. It would be better, possibly, if all the nations were in the combination, but if not, there should be the most important nations; and we mean by "most important" those who have the most man power and wealth and what is more, those who "have the will to want peace".

What organs should the combination have for carrying on its business? There should of course be a court to listen to and decide justiciable disputes. But not all disputes are justiciable, so there should be some kind of a council to use methods of conciliation. Should this council be made up of one part or two? If one, it must be small enough to allow the members to get well acquainted, but if it is small, it is hard to see how each nation could be represented. So a second body has been suggested in which every nation would be represented. The League of Nations has both a Council

and an Assembly. Only a few nations have representatives in the Council, while they all have in the Assembly.

Should the members of these bodies be free to do as they please once they are chosen? They are not allowed to do so in the League of Nations. They do what the governments at home wish them to do. Should each nation represented have the same say-so, or equal voting power, or should they vote according to wealth, population, and power? In other words, should Colombia have as much say-so as Italy? In coming to agreements should all have to agree or should a majority rule? In the League of Nations organization each nation has equal voting power and unless it says differently in the Constitution (called covenant) of the League, all must agree. You will remember, however, that not all nations are represented in the Council.

A number of other questions arise about the way the combination might work. Is there anything to keep two or more of the great powers from controlling the combination? Giving all nations the same voting power and having them all represented in the assembly, it seems, would prevent this. Will every nation in the combination do what it promises? This question cannot be answered, but there are good reasons to believe that as the nations got better acquainted and saw how much they had in common, each would want to be honest and carry out its promises. Should such a combination agree that every nation in it could have the territory, the government, and rights of trade it has and that it should be protected in these things by all the others? We can say "yes" to this question if the matters of boundaries and trading rights are left open to be examined by the whole combination, for we know that some of the settlements which have been made are unfair.

Now suppose the combination, through its court of arbitration or its council or assembly, decides what shall be done and one of the nations refuses. One way to make the refus-

ing nation do as the others say is to stop having anything to do with it. This is called *boycott*. Of course nations doing the boycotting might be harmed a great deal, but the harm done them would be less than the harm of war. So much do the nations depend upon each other that the boycotted nation could not hold out long. Another way to make the refusing nation do the bidding of the others would be to use armies and navies. Some make fun of this and say, "This would mean war and that is what your combination is to prevent." The League of Nations covenant provides for both the boycott and the use of force. It might be well for the combination not to provide for the use of force.

Many other questions could be asked about a combination of nations to prevent war and do away with its causes. Millions of people hoped that the Great War would make most people so long for peace that they would want to do away with the causes of war. But class struggles and national hatreds seem as hot or hotter than ever. But we learned some things from the War. Five-sixths of the people of the world were involved in it and they learned that the world was one in commerce and industry. We may say that in these things, or economically, the nations are not independent but interdependent. The condition in Russia affects the price of wheat, hogs and cattle in the United States. Now the first causes of war we pointed out were economic—raw materials, markets, highways, capitalism, armament builders—these are the most important things with which international politics deal. We may say that the main things upon which politics rests are economic. We see then, in the words of James Bryce (*International Relations*, page 257) "everything which affects any single state necessarily affects each of the others. All states are now members of one economic body, and if one member suffers, the other members suffer with it."

This being the case, every nation, for selfish reasons if nothing else, should take an interest in the well-being of the others and help them, if possible, in their troubles. War really harms every nation, whether it is fighting or not. It is the deadliest evil in the world. Think of the last war, with its toll of ten million of the strongest people in Europe, its destruction of 330 billions of dollars worth of property, to say nothing of the fierce hatreds it stirred up and the awful suffering it left among us living. Shall it come again?

The United States cannot live apart from the rest of the world in thought, commerce, trade and credit. Like most other nations we have a democratic government. This means each one of us has a part, that each one of us should know the main causes of war and what is being done and should be done to do away with these causes. As a people we do a great deal to help relieve any one who is suffering. We raised millions to help the starving Chinese and feed the children and mothers of Armenia. It is a feeling of a common humanity which moved us. "If that sentiment, coupled with the sense that all nations are the children of one Father in Heaven, were to lay hold of the peoples of the world and make them regard peoples of other countries as fellow-citizens in the common-wealth of mankind, would not the attitude of states (state used here to mean nation) towards one another be changed and changed fundamentally for the better? Would not the sense of cooperation temper the eagerness of competition and reinforce the belief that more will be gained for each and all by peace than has been gained or ever will be gained by war? You may say: What can private citizens do? Well, the state is made up of private citizens, and such as they are such will the state be. Each of us as individuals can do little, but many animated by the same feeling and belief can do much. What is democracy for except to represent and express the convictions and wishes of the people? The citizens of a democracy can do

everything if they express their united will. The raindrops that fall from the clouds unite to form a tiny rill, and, meeting other rills, become a rivulet, and the rivulet grows to a brook and the brooks as they join one another swell into a river that sweeps in its resistless course downward to the sea. Each of us is only a drop, but together we make up the volume of public opinion which determines the character and action of a state. What all the nations now need is a public opinion which shall in every nation give more constant thought and keener attention to international policy, and lift it to a higher plane. The peoples can do this in every country, if the best citizens give them the lead. You in America are well fitted to set an example in this effort to the European peoples smitten down by the war and painfully struggling to regain their feet. They will gratefully welcome whatever you may do now or hereafter by sympathy and counsel or by active cooperation in efforts to redress the injustices and mitigate the passions which distract most parts of the Old World. Your help, your powerful and disinterested help, will be of incomparable service in every effort to rescue your brother peoples from the oldest and deadliest of all evils that have afflicted mankind" (Bryce, *International Relations*, page 264).

As you think, study, act, and take an interest in your state, local and national government and politics, our international relations should never be forgotten. These relations seem at times very far away, but all parts of the world are close together in nearly every way we look at the matter. To be a good citizen and play the part you should, you will need to know more and more every year about other nations. Since the United States is the greatest nation in the world in wealth and many other ways, all the more do we need to help other peoples to become strong and happy.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. Name what you think to be the most important causes of war and show how each cause may be connected with every cause.
2. Name the many ways nations have of carrying on their relations and try to show in what way or ways each may help do away with war.
3. Point out all means you can which you think are bringing nations closer together.
4. Collect items on international relations from a daily newspaper for one week and report to the class what these items deal with.
5. Debate this question: "Resolved, that the United States should take the lead in calling international conferences 'to help European nations to get on their feet.'"
6. What can you do, as an individual, to help bring about better feelings between your nation and others?
7. More than ninety per cent of the money spent by the national government is spent because of past wars or preparing for war in the future. Write your Congressman and ask him what has been or is being done to lessen this expense.

APPENDIX

SUPERINTENDENT R. L. MYERS, Dade County, Missouri

In the long ago our ancestors met under the trees of what is now the Germanic countries and discussed the problems of peace and war. Afterward they migrated to the island of Britain. There they developed their customs into those of the present English people. But from those primitive deliberations to the deliberations of the modern English Parliament or American Congress is one long and continuous development of rules and practices. The rules that have governed and now are governing these deliberative bodies are known collectively as Parliamentary Law. The purpose of these laws is to aid deliberative bodies in carrying on the business of their meetings efficiently. Parliamentary laws make it possible to avoid the errors that cause wrangles commonly heard in public meetings where the officials are ignorant of parliamentary customs or where unscrupulous persons take advantage of those who do not know how public meetings should be conducted.

One need but attend a few public assemblages in the rural or village schools to become aware of the need of some simple instructions in parliamentary law. It is the purpose of this appendix to outline in brief enough of these laws to train our boys and girls to organize and conduct such societies as the Literary Society, a Farm Club, or the usual clubs of the rural districts or villages. With this idea in view, let us proceed to organize any public gathering into a temporary organization.

When the people have assembled, any one of them may step to the front of the room and call the house to order by rapping on the table or otherwise getting their attention. The speaker will either propose some one for chairman or call for nominations for chairman. If more than one is

nominated, the speaker will place the names before the house to be voted upon in the order in which they were nominated and not in the reverse order. When one receives a majority of the votes cast, he will go forward and thank his friends in a few brief and well chosen remarks. He will ask first for a secretary to be selected. He may now ask the pleasure of the meeting or if some one does not offer a resolution to form a permanent organization, he may announce that he will entertain such a resolution.

If the resolution carries, the assembly will proceed to select committees to draft a Constitution and By-Laws. The Constitution should set forth the name and object of the society; condition of membership; election of officers; what shall constitute a quorum; and provide for amendments. The By-Laws should provide for stated meetings; duties of officers; dues to be paid if any; and adopt any set of rules for the government of the society they see fit.

Every society requires a presiding officer and a secretary (Other officers may be selected). The presiding officer should attend the meetings and call them to order, entertain all motions when properly made, state them properly, and perform such other duties as his office requires. The secretary should record all actions of the society proper to be recorded in the book of minutes and read them when required. The minutes of each meeting should begin by stating that the society met at a certain time (in regular or special session); the minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved; the officers were present or absent; and record only the actions of the present meeting as it proceeds with the business of the hour.

While the chairman is presiding, he should never say I but The Chair or your Chair. If you wish, you should arise and say, Mr. Chairman or Mr. President, or Mrs. Chairman or Mrs. President and wait till you are recognized by the officer, who does so by speaking your name. You

will then speak clearly what you wish but you should be sure that what you wish to say is in accordance with parliamentary usage.

To aid the presiding officer in doing the will of the society, in keeping order and expediting the business, it is necessary to outline an order of business. A very good outline is, after the opening exercises, to call for a reading of the minutes of the previous meeting; reports of standing and select committees; unfinished business; new business. It must be remembered that in special sessions only such business can be attended to as was set forth in the call.

The object of the organization is to carry on business and the motion is the method of introducing the business. Motions fall into four fairly well defined classes with the miscellaneous ones to rescind and reconsider. If these classes of motions are well understood and the relations they bear to one another, there will be little difficulty in the labors of the society. Every school and society should have copies of any of the well-known manuals to be found in book stores. These four classes of motions are usually outlined as follows:

PRIVILEGED MOTIONS

They are to fix the time to which the society will adjourn (as June 15); to adjourn; to take recess; to questions of privilege or points of order; to call for orders of the day (proceed with the regular program).

INCIDENTAL MOTIONS

They are to appeal from decisions of the chair; objection to the consideration of the question; reading of papers; withdrawal of motion; and suspension of the rules.

SUBSIDIARY MOTIONS

They are to lay on the table or to take from the table;

previous questions; postpone to set time; postpone indefinitely.

PRINCIPAL MOTIONS

The principal motion is the lowest motion of all because all others take precedence over it and over one another in the order named above. The principal motion states the main business of the meeting and no other principal motion can come before the house until the first one is disposed of. Those listed above it can come before the house and the principal motion has to wait till they are disposed of. For example: Mr. A. says, "I move that ten dollars from the funds be appropriated to buy a lamp for the hall." Mr. B. says, "I move to amend the motion by striking out the words "ten dollars" and substituting the words fifteen dollars." Mr. C. says, "I move that the motion be referred to a committee for investigation." Mr. D. says, "I move to table the motion." Mr. E. is getting nervous and rises and says in the manner of the others, "Mr. Chairman, I move to adjourn." Now there are five motions before the house. Under the law of order in the table above, the Chair must put the last one first for it is the highest motion before the house. If the motion to adjourn carries, the business closes and the principal motion is left over as unfinished business till the next regular meeting or special if called for that purpose. If the motion is lost, the Chair will put the next in order. If each is lost, the house will finally get back to the principal motion and proceed to dispose of it.

You will observe from the paragraph above the best usage in presenting motions. You will arise and say, "Mr. Chairman." When you have been recognized, you will say, I move to do a certain thing or that a certain thing be done and then be seated to wait for a disposal of your motion. Do not say, I make a motion or I move you. You mean to put a proposition before the house for their consideration. Never make a suggestion to the chair for it can not be

handled by any law of parliamentary practice. If it is in order and you wish to place your thought before the house, put it as a motion and then it can be disposed of in the regular way. It is better for the Chair to state every motion or have it reduced to writing and read it than to say, "You have heard the motion." When the Chair states the question, it then becomes the property of the house and can be acted upon under the laws governing that class of motions.

Questions of privilege, orders of the day, and objection to consideration do not require a second but only disturb the speaker. You should study the manual till you will not act in a way that will be rude or humiliate yourself. Courtesy is one of the most pleasing accomplishments of a lady or gentleman. Motions to adjourn, to suspend the rules, to table or take from the table can not be reconsidered. All questions in the preceding table above "The Previous Question" are not debatable.

In disposing of the business of the house from time to time, it becomes necessary to vote. The ordinary method of voting is by acclamation but may be done in any manner the By-Laws provide. The Chair usually puts the question in this form, "As many as are in favor of the motion, say Aye." "Those opposed say No." If he is sure of the vote, he announces the result but if not or if any one calls for a division of the house, he will have all who are in favor of the motion stand while he counts them or has them counted, then all who are against it. In some cases the By-Laws provide for a ballot. When all have voted, the ballots are counted and the result announced from the Chair.

In bringing this brief appendix to a close, it should be kept in mind that the sole purpose of parliamentary rules is to maintain order and expedite the business of the society. In doing this, it is very desirable to use the decorum that has been well established in American deliberative bodies. Any harsh or over-critical statements and all personalities

should be avoided. Such rude and impolite conduct as whispering, coughing, spitting, hissing, howling, cat-calls, or other disturbing actions should not be indulged in by members of the society. The refinement acquired by boys and girls in their associations and labors will mark them as the accomplished ladies and gentlemen of the future.

